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J. CASTELL HOPKINS,
President of the Club, 1910-11.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE EMPIRE
CLUB OF CANADA DURING ITS SESSION
OF 1910-1911

EDITED BY
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

EIGHTH YEAR OF ISSUE

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These Addresses were reported by
Mr. W. Harry Edwards of Toronto.

INTRODUCTION

In retiring from the Presidency of the Club for 1910-11 and also from the Editorial charge of this annual volume which I have had the privilege of holding for the past eight years, I may be permitted to continue the custom of reviewing, briefly, the year's work.

The record contains some elements of interest and growth. In the first place arrangements were made with Toronto *Saturday Night* for the publication of a verbatim report of the speeches delivered before the Club from week to week and this widened our sphere of usefulness by enabling speakers to address readers throughout the country as well as the members of the Club. A pleasant incident of the year and a new development in our functions was the joint Luncheon of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club of Toronto to welcome and to hear Lieut.-General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell. This was followed later by a joint Luncheon of our Club, the British Empire League and the Canadian Defence League to hear Mr. Clive Phillipps-Wolley of Victoria, B.C., in a notable address on naval problems and conditions.

Correspondence and co-operation in the distribution of literature, etc., was maintained with the Imperial Co-operation League of London and the Imperial Federation League of Melbourne, Australia. The work of the Club also attracted some attention in England, and Mr. Frank Yeigh had an interesting sketch of its origin and policy in the *Standard of Empire* on Jan. 13, 1911. During the season 115 new names were added to the membership, and the Hon. Secretary (Mr. E. B. Merrill) stated the membership of the Club at the annual Dinner, on April 6, 1911, to be 640, with a record of 29 regular meetings during the year and 15 meetings of the Executive. The Officers of the Club for 1910-11 were as follows:

President	J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.
1st Vice-President	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
2nd Vice-President	G. Frank Beer.
3rd Vice-President	J. M. Foster, M.A.
Hon. Organizing Secretary	R. S. Neville, K.C.
Hon. Treasurer	Alex. Fraser.
Hon. Secretary	Edward B. Merrill.

Executive Members—James R. Roaf, Dr. E. K. Richardson, W. O. McTaggart, M. B. Logan, Rev. Canon A. W. Macnab, G. Harold Muntz, J. F. Wildman, George H. Smith, H. A. Sherrard.

At the annual Dinner on April 6th it was unanimously decided to amend the constitution as follows on motion of Dr. D. J. Goggin, seconded by R. S. Neville, K.C.: "That Life members, not exceeding 10 in number in any one year, may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, at any open meeting of the Club. The fee for such membership shall be $25.00." The following names were then presented by the President and unanimously accepted:—Sir Henry M. Pellatt, Colonel James Mason, Elias Clouse, M.D., F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., E. R. Wood, and James Heywood. Early in the season a suggestion was made by Mr. R. D. Fairbairn, Vice-President of the

Association of Canadian Clubs, in a letter to the President, that the Empire Club of Canada should join that Association. The matter was laid before the Club and, without discussion, referred to the Executive, which considered it carefully, but decided to await the next annual meeting of the Association of Canadian Clubs before taking action.

The President was in the chair at all the meetings of the Club excepting the Luncheon with the Canadian Club and one other occasion.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt for the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer, duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so elected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be call-

ed by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hundred, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee."

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT.

An address delivered in Toronto by Lieut.-General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell, at a joint special meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs—with Mr. J. F. MacKay, President of the Canadian Club, in the chair—on August 31st, 1910.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

It is very difficult for me to express to you my very sincere thanks to the members of the two Societies who have so kindly agreed to meet me here to-day in combination, for it gives me the unique opportunity of meeting the very men I want to meet in this great city. I have come here with a fad of my own, and I find it has already been received as something that may be of value to your country, and indeed, if it spreads and extends as it promises to do here, it will be of value also to our great Empire.

It was merely a suggestion I made in the matter of training bovs, which you seem to have taken up with the idea of making it a real success for your country and the Empire at large. If you succeed in doing this, (for I leave that with the citizens themselves) I think you will be doing a great work, but it will be no credit to me. Whether it succeeds or not depends entirely upon the men in the different centres and the manner in which they handle the work. The boys seem ready enough to accept training and it merely rests with the men of the country to adopt it and put it in working order. I will briefly, in the short time available, give you a sketch or outline of the scheme; what the need of it, how carried on, and what are the possibilities lying before it in your own country.

Scouting, as you know, may be taken from a military point of view, but we take this scouting entirely from a peace point of view. The aim is to cultivate the principles which actuated the pioneers of civilization in nearly all corners of the globe, that is to say, trappers, explorers, frontiersmen, backwoodsmen, soldiers, and such men as you have in your North-West Mounted Police. These men promoted civilization under exceptional difficulties of climate or surroundings, relying entirely upon themselves to carry out their work, full of resource, energy, endurance, hope and pluck. Such men do their work far away from all applause simply because it is their duty, full of chivalry and self-sacrifice, possessing the best type of manliness in our race.

These are the types we hold up to these lads as their ideals to follow, whatever class, city or country they may come from, or whatever religion or nationality they may be. Therefore, I believe the training and elementary work begun, and the supplementary work they are to receive, as the Scout masters gradually introduce these other attributes of frontiersmen and backwoodsmen and so on, will tend to make for manliness of character and good citizenship among the boys.

Whether there is need of such a movement in your country is for you to decide. In the Old Country it seems very desirable, with its great teeming cities of lads drifting to "the parting of the ways," where they either become shirkers or workers. The boys can learn the three R.'s in the schools, but do not learn character, manliness or energy such as will be useful to them in after life. For, after all, take any man who succeeds in this world it is not the school learning he gets at school, but the character he develops in himself which counts. A school for character, therefore, seems to be very much needed among our rising generation, particularly in the Old Country, in the great cities and the state of over-civilization in which we live. In your country it is another matter. You do not suffer from this same disease of unemployedness and unemployableness. There are points about your lads which are similar to lads in every part of the world, they want character putting into them. Your boys have plenty of self-reliance, resourcefulness, and independence—the only danger is that they may get too much of it. You want also discipline. (loud applause.) and self-sacrifice, then courtesy and chivalry. (Applause.) All this gets very readily instilled into these boys once you get hold of them by means which are really attractive to them.

In Canada you are engaged in the making of a great nation, and in order to do that you have to use a great many different ingredients, many nationalities, and you want to weld them together with some "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin," and this is one of the small means of doing it—this association of boys, spreading as it is in different countries, not only in this great Dominion, but in countries all over the world, bringing them into touch with one another in a way those who started the movement could hardly hope for. The boys all recognize that they are joining a great brotherhood, feel themselves comrades, bound to back their brothers up, and to be friends in whatever part of the globe they may be, whatever their nation, religion or standing in life—they are all brothers.

This is a great thing in my mind if you are going to hold together the rising generation of various nationalities you have amongst you. If you can succeed in making them feel they are brothers it will be of inestimable value to your nation in the future, for it must be remembered you not only need material for the making of a nation, you want spirit as well.

The methods by which we bring about this training are, as I have hinted, those which appeal to the boy himself. So many of our systems of education do not directly appeal to a boy. We tell a boy to be good, and if he has any spirit he turns around and goes the other way. We tell him to be a Scout, to go hunting in the woods, be a Red Indian, anything you like, but come into the open air and play the game, and he is only too ready to do it, whatever the game may be; and then we instruct him on those points which go to make up a really good man, with strength of character, physical as well as moral. Our scheme merely gives the outline for doing it, and we leave to individual men, who are trainers, to produce the best results possible with the ingredients in their hands, that is to say we offer badges for skill in the art of scouting. A boy begins to get Scout's badges when he has qualified himself in the elementary work of backwoodsmanship, when he can look out for himself, light his own fire, cook his own food, manage a boat, be able to swim, signal his friends, find his way by day or night in the woods, by the stars or sun, etc., make maps; all those kind of things which make a backwoodsman. After he has passed an examination in these things he gets a badge. Then we teach him some handicraft, and try to make a useful citizen out of him, offering him a badge for proficiency as a carpenter, boat-builder, baker, dairyman, anything he likes which is liable to be useful and which stimulates boyish ambition. We have 33 different kind of trades and crafts for which we give badges. The method we follow is this—suppose a boy wants to get a badge, he selects some trade to his liking and finds a friend of his who is an expert in that line, to teach him what he wants to know, and if he passes our examination our Board gives him a badge. A Scout in this way gradually accumulates a number of badges of proficiency. Probably he will select one or other occupation and make it his profession or calling for life, and not be absolutely helpless or hopeless like so many wasters at home to-day. In fact, one of the qualifications before a Scout can have a badge is that he must have a balance in the Bank. It is not very large, only one shilling, but it is something, it has broken the ice and given him his bank-book.

Well, gentlemen, this scheme is popular with boys; they have taken it up for themselves in most parts of the world, and our only difficulty is to get them officers who can teach them their work—officers with the time and inclination to do the work. That is what we want to produce, the right inclinations among the young fellows—and I find that in Canada a young fellow ranges in age from 18 to 81. Once they take up the training they find it very attractive and fascinating, and they soon gather around them a few friends, and we have an organization produced. First of all in each Province we have a Council of leaders, men who take the responsible authority. Then in each city or centre we have a local Association of representative gentlemen interested in the training of boys, and under them we have the Scout-masters, officers who raise troops and train them in the different local centres. These troops are divided into units of 8 boys, each unit having an older boy as leader. In this way we bring the responsibility down upon the shoulders of the boys themselves. There is nothing like putting responsibility upon them at a very early age to get the right spirit of discipline into them.

Our training is not in opposition to any other existing form of training. We work in unison with the Boy's Brigade, the Church Lads and the Y.M.C.A. All of these are great organizations doing the same work as the Boy Scouts but in a different way. We have been accused of not having much religion in our training, but we do not attempt to take the place of pastors or parents in teaching what kind of religion a boy ought to take up; but we do expect every boy to have some form of religion of his own, and not merely to profess it, but put it in practice while he is with us. And one of the main steps towards putting it into practice is that each boy is expected, and we put him on his honor to carry out, some good turn every day to some animal or person. I have to-day received information of one of your local Scouts, who wakened up in the night to find he had forgotten to do his good turn. He heard a mouse in the trap. So he went to that mouse, tenderly removed it from the trap—and gave it to the cat! I trust, gentlemen, you will excuse this digression.

Another point in our training which excites a good deal of interest among you as loyal citizens, is what is our attitude as regards Cadets. Well, we hope we back up the Cadet movement by filling up the blanks in the organization of Cadets where the Cadet movement is not possible, that is to say in widely-scattered communities such as you have in your outlying districts. The Scout movement comes into such places because we have these small units of eight boys, which can be raised in any township, hamlet or homestead. The training we give the Scouts is different from military training, which we try to avoid rather than otherwise, because military training tends to make a boy part of a machine, while we wish to develop individuality, bring out his personal qualities, and make the most of them. The discipline we put into the boys is a different kind from the mere veneer of military discipline, where a young fellow obeys his officer while on parade but forgets his discipline immediately he is off parade. We try to make the Scout recognize his master as his friend, one he is bound to serve from sheer loyalty. Whatever his failings he overlooks them and backs him up from a spirit of loyalty and chivalry.

A great many religious denominations and parents have conscientiously objected to boys belonging to a military organization because of the spirit of warfare, engendered in them; therefore, to avoid military training we find many of these denominations and parents send their boys to join the Scouts simply for the training of good citizenship which they receive. At the same time, of course, we do not neglect patriotism but encourage it as much as we can, so that eventually when they take up the idea of their duty to their country and join a defence force, as many of them no doubt will, with the experience they have gained in campaigning and woodcraft—knowing how to cross rivers, signal, find their way in a strange place day or night—all these traits of good soldiers which are scarcely touched upon in the training of Cadets, will make the Scout a far superior soldier than if he received merely the usual Cadet Training. Sometimes we have Cadet Corps take up our training in addition to their own as they realize the superiority of it in the case of actual warfare; because it is only reasonable, when you come to think of it, how the Boers were able to maintain themselves in the field so long against a much superior force simply because they were good campaigners, never having had a day's military drill in their lives. Plain men of the woods with an all-round training are better than the men who receive the more narrow military discipline. So it commends itself to most trainers of boys even though we don't insist upon military training as the ultimate aim of it.

Our methods are so elastic that the Scout-masters are allowed to train troops along any number of lines they like. So we have a number of different kind of troops, including Missioner troops, Soldier troops and Sailor troops as well. In connection with the last ones I mentioned, I think you have a great opportunity in this country. We have them in almost every sea-port in Great Britain—Sea Scouts who take to sailoring as their special branch. With your Great Lakes, rivers and creeks, it would be quite possible to raise a large force of Sea-Scout troops, and in view of the Navy, it may be useful in time to come. The only instruments required for it are a few ships or hulks, to be used as training-ships. These could be moored alongside your city, somewhere out in the bay, and would make a splendid club-house where the boys could spend their evenings or week-ends learning the elements of seamanship. I referred to this in Vancouver and a gentleman came forward and offered then and there to provide a ship for that purpose, and I understand another one has been provided in Victoria. A few more and we will have the Sea Scout movement started in Canada. So if any of you gentlemen have an old ship you don't know what to do with, instead of breaking it up, better hand it over to the Boy Scouts.

Well, gentlemen, I am not going to detain you longer. I thank you for all your kindness to me. You see for yourselves the possibility of the Scout movement. So far as I have gone in Ontario, the Scouts in Toronto are the most promising lot I have seen, but it is only the beginning of what the movement is going to be, judging, by the splendid spirit shown towards the work by the citizens. *It only requires encouragement on the part of men like yourselves to spread this movement far and wide, so give the movement all the encouragement you possibly can, and thus help the boys to become good citizens as they grow up and prosper with your country; for, after all the strength and greatness of a nation does not depend so much upon great armaments as it does upon the spirit and character of the nation. And what makes up the nation but the individual units of the nation? And this scheme will build up character in the rising generation, so that your nation in the future will be a nation of character, and therefore one of the greatest and strongest units in our great Empire.

***Editor's Note—At the close of 1910 there were about 5,000 Boy Scouts in Canada.**

EMPIRE CITIZENSHIP.

An Address delivered by the Reverend Father Bernard Vaughan before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Sept. 15.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

I am deeply indebted to you in the first place for having thought of asking me to address you this evening, and secondly, I am very deeply touched to find that in spite of many activities and many affairs which are in progress in this energizing city and which claim your attention, you have responded so generously and so handsomely to the invitation to meet me at this banquet, at which I have the honour to be your honoured guest.

Gentlemen, there are several aspects which I like very much in connection with this Empire Club, but first of all, let me remind you that it is a fine thing for Toronto to possess such a Club as this. You know that it is by means of a Club or of an Association that a man begins to realize himself. It is only when we associate with one another that we begin to understand ourselves, our shortcomings, our successes and our failures. Association with our fellows gives us a finer education than can be gained on the benches of our schoolrooms. Our education never ceases; it begins in our mother's arms, and does not stop till our hands are folded in death. Without association man is stunted in his growth, his intellect is marred, his heart does not sympathize, his will seems to lose its cunning, and his power and his energy disappear. Competition in some form is necessary to success. This is fully recognized in business matters, and in cases where the margin of profit is fine, competition is often a fruitful stimulant. Thus association helps a man. We owe our civilization to the societies formed by man, and if we find in commercial life much that is of real worth, and in the realms of science and of art much that is uplifting, much that broadens our views, and compels us to stretch forth our hands in sympathy and welcome with our fellows, it is, dear friends, because

THE REV. FATHER VAUGHAN.

people have been brought together, because they have exchanged their views, because they have united their talents and, as in the case of man and wife, each completes and is completed by the other, so in clubs men also by means of association and intercourse are mutually improved and completed by interchange of thought and action.

Accordingly, we see that association is a fine thing. Some people may say, "I don't care for clubs, I much prefer the association of home and family." That is all very well, but for all that we need the association of other men and the mutual exchange of views. It is the living force which vitalizes us, and I feel to-night in speaking to you, an energy such as I rarely experience when alone with that very uninteresting person, myself. We want something more in this world, something of the fighting stuff, something that means not merely defence, but also something of suggestive or aggressive force. If we have a great truth to tell, some great problem, or principle to enunciate, let us lift it up and show it forth to the world. I am sure you feel yourselves indebted for the higher and fuller education of your minds and hearts and wills by your association with this vigourous, enterprising and energetic Empire Club.

Men may associate for all sorts of reasons. Some to collect postage stamps, and I have found by experience that many on this side of the ocean club together to procure autographs. Whatever the purpose of an association, the higher its object, the greater will be its force, its vital force, upon our whole being, upon our mental outlook, and upon that triple force of mind, heart and will, which go to form a "Triple Alliance" which cannot easily be broken when they are welded into one resultant power, character.

Now, gentlemen, you all realize that the main object of this Association is to promote the welfare and the well-being, not of one part, but of all parts of the whole living organism called the British Empire. You want to promote her highest interests, you want, no matter where you go, to see that the British flag is kept flying top-mast high and in a clean, crisp, sunny atmosphere. I feel that you are all pressing around the flag, in silence though you be. You are strong men of the strong Dominion, and with your help the flag shall float in every breeze, and shall remain flying where all may see and honour it. It is a great source of comfort, consolation and encouragement to any man living in the Motherland to come out here and see such fine vigourous action, such enterprise, such grand business qualities, such strong manhood, such a sense of beauty, such high uplifting ideals, as I have discovered in this Empire Club, at which I am your proud guest to-night.

We want the British Empire to hold her own, as our representative British poet has said in words which thrill my very soul: "Britons, hold your own." Gentlemen, we want the British Empire to hold her own always, no matter how other nations may stand forth, showing their growing strength and their development. It is our business in Canada to do our best, and not to wait and see what others are doing. It is our business, if we can, to set an example to the whole world, and to lift up worthy object lessons to all nations on this planet. We must have the highest aspirations, and we must regard it as a primary duty to keep our Empire from all things that might poison her blood, and bring her to decrepitude and decay. Our Empire is not merely the greatest, but she is also the most flourishing that the world has yet seen. If we take her geographically, or politically, or commercially or financially, she almost appals us by what she is, and by what she owns. But let us never forget the story of the Empires of the past; let us never forget Phoenicia, or Carthage, or Athens, or Rome. Athens with her power over the mind, Rome with her supremacy over man's will. They fell into decreptitude and decay; they died of suicidal corruption.

A man is not what he says, or what he looks, a man is what he is, and we must never forget that our Empire will be what its individual members are, and that its future greatness will depend upon the members of its different dependencies, and upon the character of her federated citizens.

There is only one thing that can live in this world, and that is character, by which I mean life dominated by lofty and holy principles. Nothing else can stand the wear and tear to which a man is exposed in the fever, fret and fire of our modern workaday life. I am sure you will agree with me that it matters very little whether we share a man's views, or whether we like or dislike what he says. We have to find out whether he speaks straight, whether he is straight, whether he goes straight, whether his character is straight. If we find him straight, we must listen to him though we may not agree with him. We must say "This man, because his life is straight, is needed for our Empire."

Gentlemen, I am sure that you and I have no finer mission in this world than to build up our own individual characters, and we can render no better service, can do nothing half so good for flag, for throne, and for country, as to show forth before all the world a straight, strong religious character. Like individuals, then, who are to be judged by their characters, so is our Empire to be measured, not by her acreage, nor by her financial state, not by her growing population, but by her character. Let her build up character, a character all her own, and let her be an influential, strong, and straight-going Empire, for God gives endurance to the straight and noble character. In this Dominion, of which the Mother Country is intensely proud, you have fine examples of Character. It was the ambition of my life to come out here to see Canada so beloved of the Mother Country, the Dominion which has shown us what children from the Old Land can be and can do, by reason of their loyalty and intense patriotism. Yes, in this granary, in this orchard, in this garden of the Empire, how fine are the flowers, how luscious the fruit, how beautiful the cereals! What a grand country, what sterling enterprise, what noble commerce you possess! Yet these all pale into insignificance beside the youth you have grown, and the manhood you have built up. We are all familiar with the characters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, of Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, of Robert Laird Borden, and last, but not least, of Sir James Whitney. These Empire-citizens are all statesmen, men of honour, of prudence, of integrity, men who stand high above any local, parochial, or provincial spirit, men whose ambitions extend to the height, and to the depth, to the breadth and to the width of our ever-expanding world-wide Empire.

I think there is no finer educator than this Empire Club, because it takes out of you all smallness, narrowness and pettiness; it expands your views, it uplifts your minds, it strengthens your wills, it teaches your hearts to sympathize till you feel the heart of the Empire itself pulsating and beating through the organism of your Club. Gentlemen, so live your lives, so act together, be so clean in the discharge of business, so ambitious for good, so strong in your determination to uplift everything with which you come in contact, that our Empire shall through your strong wills hold her own before all the world. You know that there are dangers ahead, you know that our sympathies must not be satisfied with words, but must go forth and express themselves in service in its highest form, which is sacrifice! We have all of us still much to learn in order to train and educate ourselves, to help our Empire to hold her own against all the world. Let us not forget that the individual is the foundation of family life, and that family life is the foundation of our national life. You and I should endeavour to make the best of ourselves; if our talents are two, let us make them four, if three, make them six, if five, turn out ten; if we have but one talent we must not bury it in a napkin, we must make the best of it, and let the world see how much we can accomplish with a single talent. We can at least show on which side we are; and when we see others slipping from the path of duty and citizenship, when we see them going under, littering the pathway of their lives with lost opportunities and broken vows, let us pity them, but let us never pride ourselves on being better than they, but on the contrary, let us exclaim: "By God's grace I will resist, lest I also fall." Any fool can be vicious, but it takes a hero to be virtuous.

Not long ago I heard of a great philosopher, who wisely said: "When once you get on the inclined plane, everything is greased for the occasion." It is an easy matter to slide down, but not so easy to climb up again. Keep on the broad platform of high principles, and set a determined face against everything that tends to put the nation on the down grade.

Beware of race suicide! Men speak freely to-day of things that would have astonished men of a generation ago. We are calmly told that there is no such thing as sin, and that there is no more harm in failing to reach a high moral plane than in falling below a given physical standard. If such principles as these are to be upheld, the microbe of disintegration will soon eat its way into the heart of the Empire. When man and woman have joined hands at God's Altar and have pledged their troth to be loyal till death do them part, they must live up to the duties of their sacred calling. The sacramental state of life for man and woman, is not to unite before God to do God's work, and then to shake their puny fist in His face and say "Thy will may be 'increase and multiply,' but we ignore Thee and defy Thy law." That is race suicide and I define it as sin which is constructive treason against the majesty of God.

I tell you, Gentlemen, the grandest thing in life is to let God have His way with you. The only rational attitude to take up before God is that of unconditional surrender, cap in hand, asking for orders and carrying them out, cost what it may. If our Empire is not to suffer like other nations, which are honey-combed with vice through this terrible iniquity, let each one of us uphold this doctrine of submission to the Divine Will, and give God a chance with our Empire. Some people say there is no place like home, is that the reason they so seldom go near it? We must build up our homes if we are to build up our Empire. Let us have a home where the mother is the sun, the hearth and the fire, let us have a home ruled by a woman who is the queen of the man's heart and the mistress of his house and the fond mother of precious children. If you do not care for your home, force yourself to cultivate a liking for it, make it the centre where to find that sympathy and happiness which you so much need, and where you may educate yourself and those around you to become worthy citizens of the world's greatest Empire.

Besides the dangers referred to, there are other dangers for our Empire. Inordinate love of riches is one of them. I like to see you prosperous; nothing would please me more than to hear that you were all millionaires. Yet in a sense I should pity you, because I find that as a rule, the millionaire is too dyspeptic to eat or to drink, too anxious to sleep; and he is too much afraid to meet his fellows lest they should want his money; he is solicitous about his ventures and his investments, because he thinks they might have been put out to better advantage. No man to-day has enough, if some one else has more. I think that the great object of getting riches is to have something more to give. Let us, too, as commercial men, remember that it is far better to give a living wage during our life time, than to sweat our people now and to build palaces for them after we have gone hence.

Another great danger to our Empire in the present day is lack of religion. How different is the state of religious life in the Old Country now, compared with what it was a couple of generations ago! I gladly recognize that we have amongst us men and women of a grand type, whose lives are influenced by religion, but let us judge a religion by the manner in which its members are practising it. A religion that does not enter into a man's life, that is put on the shelf with the Bible for the week, or put on only with the silk hat and frock coat each Sunday, is not the religion that is going to help a man to build up character. If our characters are to be clean, sweet, strong and sublime they must be inspired, influenced, and completed by religion. Do people go to church in London? In Mayfair, where I live, the hub of the Empire, the very wealthiest part of the whole Empire, the district where its most influential citizens are dwelling, churches are being pulled down to make way for flats, for mansions, for whatnot! I dare not tell you how small a percentage of people in England go to church. You would not expect to hear of very much church-going, when I tell you that the birth rate in a single generation has fallen from 35 to 23 per 1,000. You may be sure that religion is failing to fulfil its purpose, if it does not help a man to build up his character to wrestle with his passions, to fight against the spirit of worldliness, and if it does not teach him self-reverence, self-control, self-sacrifice before his fellows, and self-abasement before his Saviour. For myself, I want to have the best religion or none! It is not for me to tell others what form of religion they must accept; and if they find fault with me for not liking theirs, it simply means that they consider my judgment is wrong. As a matter of fact, I have very good taste in the matter of religion! It is certain that my religion has immeasurably helped me all my life through, and even now, when I am approaching the grave, I can declare that I have never been disappointed in my Mother the Church, though I may often have saddened her. My business this evening is not to advocate one form of religion more than another, but I do want you to live up to what you believe to be true. When men tell you that they are going to teach you a moral law, without teaching you about the Moral Law-Giver, ask them to keep their morality to themselves. They are trying to do this in France, and the result is Hell. I hope that French Catholics from Canada will go back to Christianize their motherland. Poor France, she is the eldest Daughter of the Church. She cannot get along without religious teachers to educate her children. She can be nothing but Catholic or Agnostic. She is such a splendid nation, she has such magnificent qualities, such a missionary spirit, such a tremendous sense of the fine arts, and such wondrous captivating powers that I would that, like the prodigal son, she might be brought back to feel the arms of the Saviour once more around her.

And now let me tell you in conclusion, how thankful I am to you for your patience and indulgence in listening to me. Let me say that, in my opinion, not only the oldest but the finest supernatural institution on earth, the greatest association that the world has seen, is the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has lived for 2,000 years, she will not die, she cannot die. She is vigorous, youthful and energetic after twenty centuries of strenuous life. Let her do her work. You cannot have finer patriotism than that which is grown on Catholic soil, for the finest bloom flourishes on trees whose roots go deepest.

Catholics are bound to be patriotic in the measure in which they are true to their church. Gentlemen, we do not know what will be the future of our Empire, but we do know that if we are to be true to her, if we are to give her cause to be proud of us, we must so live our lives in the sight of our fellow-men that should the day ever come when the New Zealander shall stand on London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, he may be forced to point across the ocean to this Dominion of Canada and to exclaim, "The flag is flying yonder still, Britons! Canada holds her own!" In King George and Queen Mary, we have sovereigns of character, and fine leaders of society. I have always admired them. They are true to one another, devoted to their home, fond of their children, and interested in every part of the Empire. The King knows his Empire better than any sovereign before him has done. He comes to us fresh as a sea breeze—our Dreadnought King. Let us be true to King, to Country, to Empire! King George, we hail thee, King of England, Ruler of the Empire, and to-night we shall give a special meaning to the words we sing: "Long to reign over us, happy and glorious, God save the King!"

Gentlemen of the Empire Club, let your lives be dominated, inspired and actuated by lofty principles, and your characters will be an object lesson to all the world.

MR. L. S. AMERY, M.P.

HUDSON'S BAY: ITS CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS.

An Address by Mr. L. S. Amery, recently Colonial Editor of the London "Times," before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Sept. 22, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It is a very great pleasure as well as a great privilege to me to be allowed to address your Club to-day. I had hoped to have had that privilege just a year ago, but unfortunately, the day before I came here I broke my leg—consequently my engagement. The subject which I am asked to speak on, Hudson's Bay, is a very large one, and for me to deal with it at all adequately would require a far greater knowledge of the details of the transportation business of this country than I possess, and a great deal more time than you can spare from your business to-day.

All I will attempt to do is just to suggest or outline some of the main points raised in connection with the operation, first of all, of what is known as the Hudson's Bay Route for the accommodation of transportation between the West and the outside world. Secondly, with the economic possibilities of the vast, almost unexplored region which lies around the shores of that great inland sea.

Now, I might, perhaps, begin by reminding you that the Hudson's Bay Route is not a new experiment, for very nearly a century that was the predominant trade route to the west of the continent. You may remember that there was a period, lasting very nearly 50 years, of the acutest commercial rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Co. and the North West Fur Co., with headquarters at Montreal. During that long struggle the Hudson's Bay Co. enjoyed the advantage of being able to get goods to the interior about a month earlier than their rivals, because in those days of slow sailing vessels and canoe journeys it was far easier to go to the Rocky Mountains from England by way of Hudson's Bay, York Factory, Hays River, than to bring goods from Montreal, up the Ottawa, across the Great Lakes, up from Ft. William, along the Savannah, to Rainy Lake and across Lake of the Woods and up Lake Winnipeg.

As far as I am able to learn from studying history the Hudson's Bay Co. forced an amalgamation of the two great companies, and for the next 40 or 50 years the whole trade of the West was collected and came down the Hays River by canoe and portages to Winnipeg over the old Hudson's Bay route. Simpson would go up that route, Franklin went by that route on his great exploration trips, and the description he left applies admirably to what we saw on our trip down there the other day. It was by that route that the British troops—Infantry, Artillery and Sappers—were sent in 1846 to help the Hudson's Bay Co. guard the great frontier country of Manitoba against the possibility of American aggression. It has often been said that the Hudson's Bay Co. on that occasion saved the North-west to Canada, and I would not for a moment dispute the claim. It might be well to say that the North-west was owned in those days by the Hudson's Bay Company, as it were in a double sense, on account of difficulties of transportation; and I believe from my observations that the present Far North-west of Canada can be reached from Liverpool by the Hudson's Bay route quicker than from New York.

Hudson's Bay affords a back door to this continent, which might be easily used by the British in case of imminent need, and possibly mean, again, the saving of the North-west to Canada; and that route which has been so important in the past, may, therefore, not be unimportant in the future.

After the incorporation of the North-west Territories into the Dominion of Canada railways began to push into the West, steamers were put on the Great Lakes, and eventually the historic C. P. R. line was built into the interior, and the Hudson's Bay route, which was once the highway of commerce, began to be forgotten. There were few vessels passing the shores of Hudson's Bay, only one small sailing vessel arriving each year, and the people of Canada practically ceased to realize the existence of this mighty inland ocean in their very midst. True, in the last few years interest has revived in the Hudson's Bay route, and as the West is now quite a political power, the Government of Canada has given a definite promise that the Hudson's Bay Railway shall be constructed.

Still, I do not think we can say the question of the Hudson's Bay Route, is, as it has been regarded, of supreme interest to the Prairie Provinces alone. I maintain that if this route is opened up it will be of great national interest to Canada—to the whole of Canada—and of great Imperial interest as well. I think this was the thing in his mind, the bringing out of the National and Imperial importance of this route, when Lord Grey (one of the most enthusiastic Canadians that Canada has ever produced) decided this summer to travel over a great part of the Route himself and see with his own eyes what that region was like, to help interest the people of Canada in that great, heretofore neglected, part of their own inheritance. Now, I do not know whether I should say much about that trip myself, but we canoed from Lake Winnipeg in twelve days, through as pleasant scenery as you will find in any of the lake scenery in the eastern parts of Canada. We had the finest of warm weather, permitting us to bathe two or three times a day. Coming down Hudson's Bay we went from Fort York at the mouth of the Nelson, up the Churchill and across the Bay without encountering a vestige of ice, and enjoyed weather which, I think, the newspapers have already informed you, allowed us to dine on deck in our pyjamas! Not until we entered the harbour did we see any ice. There were a few icebergs there, driven up by the tide from the Atlantic, just such as you would see a few weeks earlier in the Strait of Belle Isle. I shall try but very slightly to consider the commercial possibilities of that route, but I have studied this feature on our recent trip, and would like to submit to you the results of these studies during the next few minutes.

First of all, I would like to draw your attention to possibilities of the Hudson's Bay route as a channel of transportation. Now, you are all, no doubt, aware of the main arguments in favour of that route. Owing to the shape of the globe the distance from Liverpool to the western shores of Hudson's Bay is practically the same as the distance from Liverpool to Montreal, just under 3,000 nautical miles. Then, the western shore of Hudson's Bay is nearer the great grain-growing area by anything from 1,000 to 2,000 miles than it is to Montreal; and that primary fact makes a very strong case for the building of the 400 miles of railway required to connect Hudson's Bay with the Prairie Provinces. In view of the way the country continues to push farther north in Saskatchewan, I think there ought to be a line extending east across the northern part of the Prairie Provinces, for the handling of grain, coal, etc., for I believe the cultivated land will eventually extend as far north as the Churchill River, or from one to two hundred miles beyond the present limit.

The arguments in favour of the Hudson's Bay route are very strong indeed, and while it is well to keep in mind the various difficulties and objections which have to be met, I may say there is no difficulty in the way of actual construction. The country is level except for some patches of muskeg, but there is nothing to prevent the Line from being constructed. There is one great difficulty, that of finding a harbour, and this is a very formidable obstacle, for with the exception of Churchill there are no harbours on the western shore of Hudson's Bay; and under present conditions no ship drawing 20 feet of water can get within ten miles of the shore—it would not be safe. The *Earl Grey* lay fifteen miles out from shore when she came to meet Lord Grey's party the other day. The only natural harbour is Fort Churchill, about 470 miles from Hudson Strait. It is a very good natural harbour with a narrow entrance, while rocks almost completely enclose it in a semi-circle. It is not very large—would not hold more than three or four dozen good-sized ships—and the question not yet determined is whether it could be enlarged without very great expense. There is certainly plenty of room if the channel were enlarged, but if it is found that the bottom is rocky, the cost would be very considerable.

The other harbour is at the mouth of the Nelson in Saskatchewan. The Nelson goes through a perfect wilderness of shoals, but it is believed by men of authority who have lived there for some years that if a proper channel were opened the harbour would accommodate any number of vessels. On the other hand, all the sailors who have heretofore navigated the Bay prefer Churchill, and I think myself it will make the best harbour, but until the Government survey is completed, of course, it is hard to determine that. One thing in favour of the Nelson is that it is 50 to 60 miles nearer, and goes through a better country.

Then comes the question of the navigation of the Bay itself. I may say it never freezes over in winter. Hudson Strait freezes for some distance from the shore. In spring there is a good deal of loose ice floating about the Bay, but nothing to impede navigation. As far as the Bay is concerned, there is no reason why ships should not go in all the year round. The real problem lies in the Strait. Nothing feasible has been found whereby the Straits can be made open to the ordinary tramp steamer in winter. Some people suggest ice breakers. If these proved successful, it would mean navigation could be kept open six to seven months a year; as for ordinary traffic the Straits are only open from the middle or 20th of July until some time in November. I have spoken to people who have been the Straits for some years, and they tell me they are open well into December. A ship ought to leave Churchill or Nelson the first week in November to get out the same year. As far as I can make out, the navigation of Hudson's Bay and Straits is just as safe as navigation on the St. Lawrence. According to observations made on the *Neptune* Expedition some years ago, the ice encountered in the Straits during August and September was less than is met with in Belle Isle farther south, and the storms were about in the same proportion. During November heavy snowstorms are of considerable danger to navigation.

Another danger I think will disappear with closer study, I refer to that caused by the compass acting in a very erratic manner for two or three hours at a stretch. I think, given proper Marconi stations along the Straits, lighthouse arrangements and so on, you will have at least four months' effective navigation on that Bay. This practically means that a ship could leave England before the middle of July, and with proper facilities for handling the traffic at Churchill or Nelson, could make three complete trips before the close of the season. Now I think that disposes of the argument that the insurance would be cut off, for I have no doubt when it is proven that there is at least four months of safe navigation, although the rates will be somewhat higher than the ordinary rates, shippers will not lose the benefit of marine insurance altogether.

Of course, the route would not pay if it were confined to the export of grain alone, as the freight rate on grain is an extremely low one, and it would only be through having a full cargo each way that the route could be made a paying one. Another benefit to be derived from this route would be the overcoming of the congestion in freight during the harvest time. Not more than 20 per cent. of the grain from the West can leave Port Arthur before the close of the season, and while the cars are being sent out collecting the harvest, the Western merchants are unable to get their merchandise shipped to them to fill up their stocks, just at the very time they could dispose of their goods—the time when the farmer has the money in his pocket, from the sale of his grain, to make his purchases. One other point in favour of this route might be mentioned here; when the demand for harvest hands is at its height, instead of draining Ontario, they could be brought out from the Old Country in July by this route, work through the harvest, and return to England in the same season by the same route.

There are a great many people in the West who think this is to be a great grain-carrying route. So far, I cannot say that I share their optimism. I think a great deal of grain will still be carried as at present, but I do believe it will form a very valuable subsidiary outlet, keep down the cost to the shippers, and ease the situation at the time of the greatest pressure, while it will also be of great benefit to the West, and by so doing benefit the whole of Canada.

Now, there are several questions which arise in connection with the possibilities of this route. There are people who think that its opening will be injurious to established interests in Eastern Canada. I cannot believe that for a moment. If the opening of the new route increases the population and increases the cultivated area in the West, the bulk of the benefit will go to the people of Eastern Canada who supply the major part of the needs of the West during the balance of the year. I have no hesitation in saying that the opening of this route will help British trade, as it will bring the Northwest as close to England for those four months of the year, at least, as she is to Montreal at present. I think if British trade gains anything it will not be at the expense of Canadian trade, but possibly at the expense of your neighbours to the South. If it benefits British trade it will also benefit other portions of the British Empire, including Canada, and especially the Eastern portion of Canada. At the present time the Maritime Provinces are at a disadvantage compared with you here in Ontario as regards the Western trade. During the season that the Hudson's Bay route is open they will be practically on an equal footing, and it appears to me that if trade is developed between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the West, it will be of untold benefit to those Provinces, and will contribute materially to the unifying of the Dominion.

Many people seriously hold that there is a danger of the West, of that portion lying north of Lake Superior, on account of its rapid growth, gradually beginning to look upon the extreme Eastern provinces as a part of another country; but, in fact, the opening of this route will do much to unify all the Provinces. I will go even farther and say I think direct communication between the West and England will make for the unifying of Canada, because there is a danger to the unity of Canada—only one danger, and that is the danger that the West may be drawn nearer to the great Republic to the South. Anything which keeps the West British keeps it for Canada.

It is just our British ideals and constitution which make Canada what she is, and make it different from the United States to the South of us.

I have already spoken at very great length. At present the whole region round about Hudson's Bay may be called unexplored country. I do not mean that geologists have not given us considerable information, and that the maps are not pretty well marked out, but very few parts can be reached under existing conditions when it becomes time to clear out before the winter sets in. Once it is possible for the business men of Toronto to go to the shores of Hudson's Bay or up to Fort Churchill and be back in three of four months, prospecting, looking for timber, or acquiring soil for cultivation or speculation, we will know a great deal more about the country than is possible at present. I wish to tell you that north of the Saskatchewan for nearly 200 miles there is soil capable of being used for agriculture. There is about 10,000 miles of good clay country which ought to be opened up, immediately to the west of Fort Churchill. Then, farther south around Hudson's Bay, there is a broad belt of deep glacial clay originally covered by the old Keewatin glacier, and 200 miles wide. This is admirable soil. Then, around James Bay, as far as I can learn from the climatic records and enquiry, the land is as fit for cultivation as any part of Canada; and also up along the west coast as far as Fort York. Though it will not be a great wheat-growing country, it will grow splendid hay, potatoes, etc. I believe you will yet have farms extending all the way to Hays River.

There is another industry which will be developed, that is fisheries. I believe there will be a considerable trade worked up between Hudson's Bay and the Prairie Provinces. This industry in Winnipeg and the surrounding country is no mean item at present, and as Hudson's Bay is a territorial part of Canada, according to the recent Hague decision, the fish belong to Canada, and we must insist that the whole benefit of the fishing goes to Canadian fishermen There is still another industry, becoming increasingly important, that is the pulp-wood industry. Now, in the region around Hudson's Bay, along the west shore from Churchill and Nelson Rivers, down around James Bay, and up the coast of Ungava, you have the largest area of pulp-wood in the whole world. Coupled with that there are innumerable waterfalls forming abundant water-power. I feel certain that once this region becomes accessible, inside of ten years you will find pulp and paper mills on almost every big river running into Hudson's Bay.

And lastly, there is the question of minerals. You cannot tell what may be unearthed in the way of minerals in this vast country. Some time ago the Ontario Government, in building a colonization railway, turned up something which turned out to be cobalt—so Cobalt was discovered. You also remember the history of the discovery of the greatest nickel mines in the world—Sudbury. Geological surveys prove that there are large bodies of the same rock formation as you get around Sudbury, Ontario, on the shores of Lake Superior, where you have one of the biggest bodies of iron and copper ore in the world—a very valuable asset to Canada.

It has been said that the Prairie Provinces of Canada are equivalent to the whole of Russia; well, I believe that the Hudson's Bay region is equivalent to the whole of Scandinavia and Finland—a country capable of considerable development and of sustaining a hardy, energetic and prosperous race of people. So much for the economic side of it. A few words about the political aspect.

The first advantage to Canada will be that of defence. Canada is a country of length without depth, stretching from ocean to ocean, practically without defence. It is easy to get into from the south at many points, and it is apparent that for defence alone she should build the Hudson's Bay Railway. That region would help to give her depth, and give her a back door which could be used in time of possible danger. Then, as I pointed out just now, for the Unity of the Empire it is a very desirable thing indeed. It will bring Great Britain much nearer to the West, bring Newfoundland—which we hope one day will be an integral part of the Dominion—closer to Canada. It will bring the West Indies closer to the Prairie Provinces, and the Prairie Provinces closer to the West Indies.

Take a more local problem, the tariff. The West, or some of the people there, are worrying about the tariff, or rather the high cost of certain articles, and they talk about lowering the tariff. What they want to do is lower the cost of transportation, then they will not need to worry much about the tariff. I certainly was greatly impressed coming through that great region the other day. I have travelled through Canada from East to West and through South and East Africa and other parts of the world, but have never been so enthused with the possibilities that lie before the people of the British race as when I viewed this great possession in which we all share alike, and the seriousness of the problems of which we have all got to face in the future. It may be that in the near future we can devise some constitutional form on which we all can agree, in accordance with the national aspirations, be it of Canada, Australia, or South Africa, by which these problems can be solved and each country find a noble place in the administration of the whole British Empire.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE: TARIFF REFORM.

Addresses delivered by Mr. G. A. Lloyd, M.P. for West Staffordshire, and the Hon. W. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., for Denbigh, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Sept. 30, 1910.

MR. GEORGE A. LLOYD, M.P.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: During the few minutes at my disposal to-day I will not have time to go very deep, but merely touch the fringe, as it were, of the subject I am to speak on—India.

That vast country, with its population of 350,000,000, makes the population of England, and other European countries, in fact of Europe itself, seem infinitesimally small in comparison. I have chosen this subject because we have got the feeling at home that India does not amount to much in the affairs of the Empire—ought we not to throw her aside? This is the feeling among some of the people in the Old Country—true it is only a cloud the size of a man's hand. They seem to forget that these millions of people, all fellow subjects, are looking up to us. True, this feeling is not general, but it should be "nipped in the very bud."

I believe with Lord Curzon, that India is the only really imperial part of the British Empire. It is held by the sword and gun, and must continue to be held thus. That does not mean that we are not to go on pushing forward civilization in India. It is different from every other part of the Empire because it is absolutely Imperial in the real sense of the word—it belongs to us beyond question.

It was India that caused the purchase of the Suez Canal by Great Britain—she had to have that water-way to protect her Indian Empire. India has had peace under British rule, something she never knew before, and that is the reason they look up to our King as practically their King and head of their faith to-day. Then, again, think of Aden, that strategical position, held by the British, think of Gibraltar, think of Malta—they and many other strategic points all held for the sake of India! Look at Central India itself, and see how that great peninsula is influencing the whole of Central Asia. Had Germany and Russia no India to take into account, what would be the effect upon our navy. It would have to be doubled, tripled and quadrupled. There it lies—the centre of the world, a dominating influence upon every road, every route, upon all people, and, almost more important, upon the commerce and industries which enrich those routes.

As an argument in favour of maintaining India, we might show what British rule has done for India. It has done almost everything you could ask or imagine. It produced peace, which India never had before when she was the prey of a thousand invasions, each one carrying off a million or so of her population. Tartars two or three hundred years ago would carry off two or three million with one fell swoop. What a grand training ground we have in India for the army of 200,000 stationed there, to accustom them to look after the long frontier line. You have a long frontier in Canada, which, please God, will never have to be jealously guarded by a large army. Again, think of the immense irrigation system which has been established in India under British rule—17,000,000 acres of fertile soil under irrigation, now feeding a people that were starving like flies before. The land values in India during the last 50 years have increased 1,500,000,000 dollars, and this increase has almost entirely all gone to the people—an answer, I think, to the argument that we merely drain India of its wealth. The increase in imports and exports during the same period has been $1,000,000,000. These are arguments in favour of British rule which we like to place before men like Keir-Hardie—traitors we call them in England.

Great Britain has not spared either men or money to better the conditions of the Indian people, and I believe we all realize there is still a work for India to be done by the British hand—that hand that nobody has ever seen turn back from the plow so far. A few of our people refer to our rule in that country as a failure, but I don't think that any of us with anything of the Imperial spirit in us will admit that for one moment. We are British, let us not scuttle our ships on a calm day—let us, if we have to, get sunk, but let it be as a rich ship with a full cargo, true to the great traditions of Great Britain. This is the spirit in which the great work should be carried on in our India Empire.

THE HON. W. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.

Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club:

I must thank you, gentlemen, as one of the newest and youngest recruits in England in carrying the torch lit by Mr. Chamberlain in the British Isles, for your invitation. I can speak from very little experience, for when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain started his campaign I was still a schoolboy, and I remember with what youthful enthusiasm I entered into the campaign as soon as I left college. I was given a pretty hard task, being sent into the mining district of Wales, next door to the formidable present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had to stand at the pit-mouth, on the street corners, and everywhere preach the gospel not merely of Protection, because I believe we could have carried Protection for England, but to carry the torch for something more than that—the Preferential idea. We had to urge the establishment of a tariff in the British Isles, not merely to protect British interests, but also as the first step in the establishment of a policy of Imperial reciprocity throughout the world, and involving therefore the taxation of food products.

Now, I might tell you, I honestly believe we would have carried the protective tariff if confined to manufactured goods. One of the ablest Labour-Socialists in the House admitted this to me. He told me that if Mr. Chamberlain had worked for a tariff on foreign manufactured articles he would have won, but because he introduced the Imperial element, because he asked for food taxes and a sacrifice for the Dominions over the sea, they beat us. But he was an anti-Imperialist, what we call a "Little Englander." I am glad when we come over to the Dominion of Canada we very soon forget this "Little Englandism." I came to Canada a staunch Imperialist. I go back a more staunch one still.

I will add this, that despite all the social problems Britain is facing to-day, both Liberals and Conservatives, with the exception perhaps of a few demagogues, they are really Imperialists, and opposed to the policy of drift. The Tariff Reformers in the Old Country are confident of success at the next election. As a young man, perhaps I am a little biased against what we call the *laissez faire* principles of Cobdenism, and what makes me feel even more strongly attached to the Imperialistic principles is a medal given to mv great-grandfather by the men, women and children of the factories of Lancashire as being one of the first ten men who put their names to a bill limiting the hours and improving the conditions of labour in our factories. It is in the principles of that bill that you find the basis of our Protection movement in England, and of your national policy here. It is what is behind those principles that antagonizes the policy of drift. Why, Canada from the very fact that she is what she is, is an answer to what we call the *laissez faire* principles of the doctrine of Cobdenism; from the fact that you have a real national ilfe, working out your own salvation, living out the national policy in which the tariff is only one evidence of patriotism acting from that spirit of national endeavour—that spirit which seeks to divert trade in the Imperial and national channels. That is what we want to carry in England to-day.

Now you ask me if this is what you are striving for—how far have you got along the road. In 1906 the Parliamentary majority in favour of Free Trade was 300, and when the last vote was taken in 1910, the majority was only 31. We have only 31 against us, and I believe we shall hold what we have got; in fact, I am certain we shall hold what we have got in England. Wales, of course, is pretty solid against us, Scotland very nearly solid against us, and Ireland does not change very much. Well, you say, where do you expect to have any change in order to win the day? We must look for the change in England. There are two large factors, two keys. In my opinion, if we are going to make the issue a permanent and lasting success, we must have a clear majority in London and must win Lancashire.

Now, I would just like to say a word as regards Canada. I came to Canada, of course, enthusiastic for Imperial Preference, and a firm believer in Mr. Chamberlain's policy. I go back all the more so. What have I learned in Canada? That it is not merely a country with a great agricultural future, not only the finest country in the world—it is a country that has the national policy impressed uoon its peonle. I have learned what a hardy race of people you are, learned that this is a country which can manufacture for the world as well as produce grain for the world. When the Imperial Preference policy is fully in force you will manufacture more largely as well as grow wheat. Not only will Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg do the bulk of the manufacturing, but in the West the new settlements all over the prairies, which you see growing before your eyes to-day, will become great industrial towns and cities of the future. If you get Preference you will have manufacturers come from the United States, you will have skilled workmen come in from other industrial centres and build their factories and get the benefit of the British Preference and the British market. I believe you have everything to gain and nothing to lose by our policy.

I hope you will have more men like Sir James Whitney, who will come home and speak right out. Canadian Preference has done us good in the British Isles, as everybody will tell you in England, and we are sure that if we give you Preference, it will benefit Canada as well as the Empire. Do not be afraid to speak out in favour of that which will be of inestimable value to the Empire to which we are proud to belong. I think that this silence, this fear of treading on each other's toes, is not strong, is not British, and it smacks of that policy of drift which I feel the people of this country and the great British Empire want to avoid.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

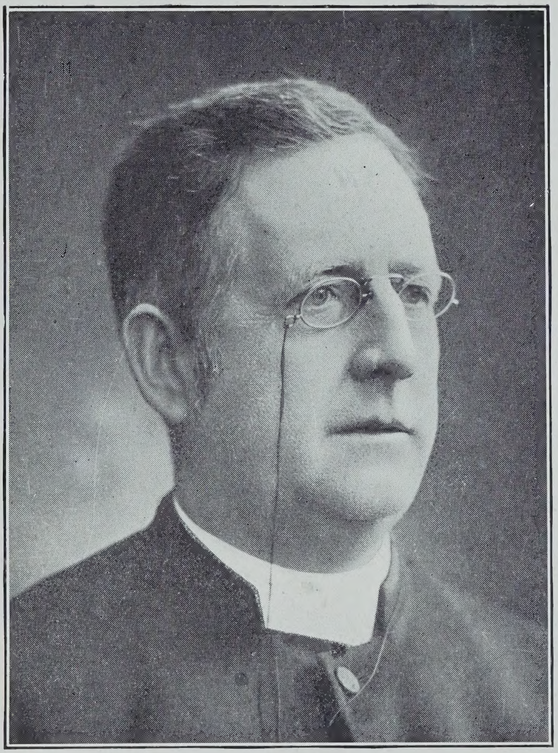
An Address by the Venerable T. J. Madden, D.D., Archdeacon of Liverpool, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Oct. 6, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Before I left England I read an article 'n *The Spectator* on the "Wicked habit" in Englishmen of self-depreciation, and especially in self-depreciation of the Empire, and the editor in a note said that this article was inspired by a letter from some good Canadian, who had given him a fairly bad half hour by a letter inserted in the journal on this subject. Now, when I read that, I thought it might not be amiss for me to do a little boasting in Canada. It is good for us sometimes to brag a bit, and pray the prayer of the old Scotch woman, that the Lord "wud gi'e us a guid conceit o' oorsel's."

I am sometimes inclined to think we do too little cock-crowing. It would have a moral effect and be of material benefit to the Empire, as well as to the persons who seem to depreciate the British Empire. The first question I was asked by a newspaper reporter when I arrived in one of your cities was: "Well, I suppose the Old Country is doddering along as usual!" My feelings can better be imagined than described.

I want to speak first of the growth of the British Empire. We can hardly realize the extent of its recent growth. When Henry VIII. died the only British possession was Calais, and we did not hold that long after his death. When Mary came to the Throne, Calais passed out of the hands of the British people. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth that we began to acquire any part of our present Empire. The reign of Elizabeth, as you know, was one which produced not only great men of letters, but great sea captains—those courageous adventurers who sailed far-off seas and planted the British flag upon alien soil and among new peoples. And yet, even with those acquisitions the Empire was very small indeed, and it was not until one hundred years ago that we really



THE VEN. ARCHDEACON MADDEN.

began to move towards the mighty possessions now held under our sovereignty. When we read that at the present time we possess one-fourth of the habitable globe and rule over one-third of the population of the world, we begin to understand something of the extent and greatness of our Empire.

One hundred years ago the total population over which we claimed rule and sovereignty was 150,000,000; to-day the British flag flies over a population amounting to about 500,000,000 of people.

One hundred years ago the British language was spoken by 20,000,000 people; to-day 181,000,000 people use that language.

One hundred years ago, in Europe, the English language was spoken by the fewest number of people. The French, German, and Spanish languages were used by vast numbers of people compared with the English, but now we stand at the top of all languages spoken by European civilized nations. That is worth remembering, that while other nations have progressed, we have progressed to such an extent that we have passed from 20,000,000 speaking English to 181,000,000.

Now, the thing which appeals to you men of business will be the commercial growth of the Empire, and I will only give you a few figures, because after luncheon figures are not very digestible. In 1909, according to a Blue-book just published, two-thirds of the shipping of the world is carried in British bottoms or under the British flag. Take in this connection the traffic through the Suez Canal, the comparative figures for the different European nations are: French, 160 ships; German, 260 ships; those flying the British flag, 2,260.

A remarkable statement was made the other day in the House of Commons by Mr. John Burns. It was in answer to some question in connection with the unemployed and the trade depression. He said that in the year 1908 more new ships, according to tonnage, were turned out of the Clyde shipbuilding yards than from all other shipbuilding yards in Europe combined, with Japan thrown in! I want you to see what a startling statement this is, for we have besides the shipyards on the Clyde, those at Portsmouth and Newcastle-on-the-Tyne, and in other parts of England. Yet, John Burns, in the presence of the House of Commons, stated that the tonnage of the new ships turned out of the Clyde alone was greater than all turned out by the rest of Europe—Germany, France, Italy, with Japan thrown in. You would hardly suppose that a nation "doddering" to its doom would be so lively in producing ships in this manner?

Now, in these four ways—extent of her possessions, increase in population, advance in commerce, and keeping to the front in shipbuilding—the British Empire stands foremost among the nations of the earth. But, after all, it is not material prosperity that makes a great nation or a great people, and so when we think of the growth of the British Empire we ought not to forget that the glory of the British Empire is in its moral strength, not its material wealth—that manhood is more than money and moral manhood the bed-rock foundation of permanent greatness of national glory.

We put it in our own way as preachers, and we say it is righteousness that exalteth a nation, and with that word "righteousness" we cover a great many moral relationships in human life; righteousness in its broad sense exalteth a nation. I was only reading recently an article by Sir John Seeley, and he puts it in a very quaint way when he says: "No nation will ever find its place permanently in the world that has not something of the church about it." What he meant was this, that the religious principles which are behind all morality must be in a nation's life and in a nation's thoughts if that nation is to remain amongst the permanent forces of the world's civilization. The historian, Froude, says the same thing in another way: "As an historian I have noticed after all that it is character that tells more than men's cleverness (which means business astuteness) and more than the commercial prosperity of the people." When the world knows that the British merchant and the British manufacturer stand for honesty, stand for making the articles they profess to make, the time will come in spite of clever shams used in all kinds of commerce to-day, that the British merchant and manufacturer will find, if he faints not, that "honesty is the best policy." If he is true to the highest and noblest manhood, he will find a comfort and success in his business that cannot be got out of it with sharp practice seeking to get trade into a country or into a city.

As regards the glory of the Empire, I cannot forget the last utterance of King Edward in the city of Liverpool. He paid us two visits within a few years, the first to lay the foundation stone of our great Cathedral which will cost about $6,000,000, and his second visit was to review the Territorial forces of Lancashire, of which we are very proud. He was standing on the platform at Lime Street, just before entering the train for London, and turning to the Lord Mayor he said: "My Lord Mayor, and gentlemen of the City Council, the last time I came here I came to lay the foundation of a great centre of the Christian faith. I now come to review the Territorial forces of the British Empire. Patriotism is the glory of our flag and country, but there never can be true patriotism unless it is based upon religion. It seems only right that the review of my Territorial forces should be completed after my laying the foundation stone of that which makes a nation great."

A very striking thing occurred in connection with King George V. when receiving a deputation from the North of England—of course, we think the North of England is England, that what Lancashire thinks to-day England thinks to-morrow and the British Empire thinks the day afterwards. King George said in reply to this deputation: "The foundation of the Empire is in the homes of the people. So long as these homes are pure and simple and true, so long will the foundation of the British Empire be permanent, and so long shall this Empire be great."

I am afraid sometimes that the public at large hardly realize how our Kings and Princes have at the foundation of their lives this strong sense of true religion. They are like most of us, they do not always talk about it, but in the supreme moments of life they and we are not ashamed to let the world know that our Empire is built upon God and the things of God. William Watson, who wrote the

Coronation Ode of 1910, said:

"Time, and the ocean and some fostering star
In high cabal, have made us what we are."

I think that this vast star means nothing but the living God, and our Empire rests upon the great and glorious fact, that God himself has been behind our statesmen and princes in giving us this growth and this glory of which we are proud to-day.

What is it the British Empire stands for? What is its great glory amongst the nations? Civil and religious liberty. Any man under the British flag may worship God or not worship according to his conscience. The British Empire stands for justice and righteousness, and so long as we stand by these principles, so long will the British flag fly over an Empire consolidated, not by mere aggrandisement nor love of wealth, but because we fear God and have done our duty as Christian men.

I have spoken of the growth and glory of the British Empire. Its greatness lies in its ideals—lies in its manhood and womanhood. Here in Canada you have great and vast possessions. In those mighty Rockies, out of whose sides you dig gold, silver and copper; out on your prairies which I have seen teeming with the "bread sent down from Heaven"; teeming with wealth and prosperity; but you have something greater. The asset you have in this land is not only wheat or gold, but men and women: and it is men and women that are going to make the British Empire greater, and build up a new Empire in the Dominions beyond the seas.

Now, what are these ideals we stand for? We stand for the ideal of peace amongst all people and all nations. King Edward the Peacemaker was not merely a peacemaker within his own inner consciousness, he was the incarnation of the British feeling, the British ideals—a pledge of peace. We see at the present moment that as far as our Empire is concerned, as far as its physical extension is concerned, it is at an end. We have enough to grapple with, enough to consolidate. We do not want more, but want to make the best of what we have. That is a matter of utmost concern to you and the rest of us who have position and authority in the land. Let me remind you that only on the lines of peace can an Empire be consolidated. We want peace. Thank God for the Hague Tribunal; for the fact that a hundred countries to-day are gathered there in agreement that they will submit to arbitration and to the intelligence of the civilized world their dispute instead of to the argument of bloody war—which no man who cares for his country will ever advocate unless it be in the last extremity to defend his person or property against the aggressor.

The second ideal we stand for is progress. The British Empire has never taken possession of any subjected race without endeavouring to lift them up into a higher life—a higher moral plane. Look at any of our subjected races. I had some of the young Nationalists from Egypt in my own house, and they expressed the opinion that if the British withdrew from Egypt there would be chaos and injustice. At the bottom of their souls they felt that it is the strong hand of British justice and British fair play that makes for the building up of their nation. Look at the Soudanese. Look at India and see what British civilization, British justice and morality, have done.

That great Presbyterian divine and well-known writer, George Adam Smith, told me he had taken a tour of the British Eastern possessions, Egypt, Palestine, India and other places, and I said to him: "What seem to be the controlling forces over these vast populations who, if they rose in their might, could sweep the British soldiers into the sea?" "Well," he said, "it is not the British navy or the British soldiers, it is the consciousness that in British dominions the legislators, judges and magistrates cannot be corrupted, and that, when the people appeal to British law, they get British justice." Do you think we hold India by force of arms? We hold India because of those splendid men who represent Great Britain in that land, men who, in their lonely positions, hold the British flag aloft in spite of difficulties and dangers and stand there for British justice.

Last of all, the British Empire is great not only for the ideals of peace and progress, but because she stands for purity—for purity in politics, in civil government, in civic government. It has no dealing with graft, no dealing with political corruption. Men, it is the glory of our British Government that whatever may be the bitterness of party politics, no man ever has been charged in our modern House of Commons with corruption in the state, or with using his position or great influence for his own personal ends or personal wealth.

Now, the British Empire stands not only for purity in politics and in the state, but it stands for purity in the home. Somebody has said: "The keystone of the Empire is the hearth-stone." Men, we want, wherever the British flag flies, to stand up for purity, as King George says, not only for simplicity in the home-life but for purity in the home-life. There must be no pulling down of the flag of morality to suit the passions of men anywhere. A man said to me the other day in the railway train coming from Winnipeg: "But you must make some allowance for men's weaknesses and men's passions?" I said to him: "No *man* would ask that question." If you are a brute and not a man, then do your brutish work, but manhood means self-control, means whiteness of soul, means purity for his own wife, and therefore for every other woman with the possibility of becoming another man's wife.

Well, I finish. Remember this, Rome, Carthage and Venice were mighty in their day. The two greatest maritime powers in the world were Carthage and Venice; the mightiest Empire with the greatest strength was Rome; and they all perished, not from without, but from within, from luxury and lust: read their history. Rome was never conquered until Rome lay prostrate in her own moral corruption. "Where the carcass is there will the vultures be gathered together," but the carcass must rot before the vultures descend.

I have spoken of the growth of this Empire, I have spoken of its glory, of its greatness. This heritage, with its great privileges and responsibilities, has been handed down to us by men who have fought and bled, men who have lived honest, pure, hard lives. Shall we pass it down to our children unsullied by corruption or impurity as British realms ought to be? Shall you who represent us in the oldest and greatest of our Dominions, who are keeping the flag flying through days of difficulty and days of stress; shall you not feel something of the old spirit of conscious chivalry, and stand sword in hand for England, home and duty?

Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood;
We know thee and we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood.

A TARIFF REFORM POLICY FOR ENGLAND.

An Address by Sir Joseph Lawrence, ex-member of the British House of Commons, delivered in reply to certain speeches by Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Oct. 12, 1910.

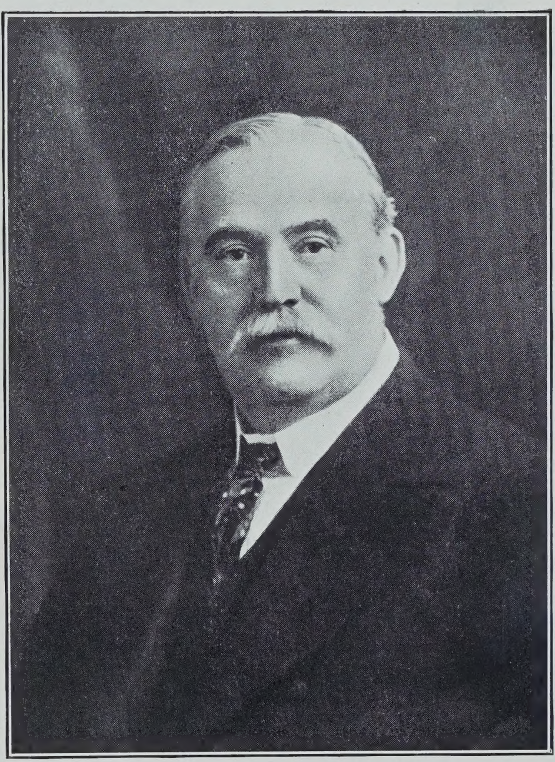
Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Let me say briefly and at short notice that Sir Alfred Mond's mission to Canada appears to be part of an organized crusade, the characteristic of which is political disingenuousness towards the people of Canada. He has revelled in an orgie of misrepresentation and abuse of the persons and principles of the Tariff Reform Party in England, with a view to its reflex action on the impending general election in England. He has misapplied statistics in the most colossally grotesque way to prove our prosperity under free imports. I wish to say to you, gentlemen, that every material statement made by Sir A. Mond is capable of a crushing rejoinder. I will endeavour to make good these propositions.

Disingenuous, for whilst apparently guarding himself against interference in your fiscal discussions, he has not hesitated to commend to you as worthy of adoption the example of Gladstone in remitting hundreds of duties. He has taken sides with the Western farmers of Canada, and he does it at a time when you ought to be left free and uninfluenced and unprejudiced, in view of your impending negotiations with the United States. I do not want to make the same mistake and be guilty of the insolence and impertinence of commending a policy to you in your dealings with the United States and other countries.

The purpose is obvious. It is that the results may be telegraphed back to England showing how much in sympathy you are with Liberal ideas of free trade, or rather free imports, in order to thwart our policy of Colonial preference in both hemispheres.

The speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as I told him on Sunday, have been exploited in England to make it appear that Canadians are in sympathy with free trade.



SIR JOSEPH LAWRENCE.

It is all done, gentlemen, for electioneering purposes. We expect an election in January as you know.

However Cobdenism may adapt its methods because the policy of Colonial preference is winning, to suit your tastes to-day, its spirit remains ever the same. What Cobden said about Canada in 1842 and 1865 still permeates their thoughts and constitutes the incarnation of their religion. This is what he said: "The Colonial system with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect process of free trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bonds which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken motion of self-interest.

"We (the Canadians and the English) are two peoples to all intents and purposes, and it is a perilous delusion to both parties to attempt to keep up a sham connection and dependence which will snap asunder if it should ever be put to the strain of stern reality. In my opinion, it is for the interest of both that we should as speedily as possible sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected, and leave the individuals on both sides to cultivate the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse, as with other nations. I have felt an interest in this Confederation scheme, because I thought it was a step in the direction of an amicable separation."

A word or two as to the misrepresentation of our principles. I have read in your papers the accounts of the speeches delivered by Sir Alfred Mond. Here is something which he said, taken from a Toronto paper: "They put on 15 per cent. and take off 2½ per cent. So they put the tariff up 12½ per cent. on you, and call that giving you a preference." This is the grossest travesty on the real views of the tariff reformers, as any tyro in the economies of Great Britain would tell you. The real truth is that we have never stipulated any set amount of tariff, but the general feeling among tariff reformers is for an average general tariff of 10 per cent. on manufactures, and a duty of two shillings per quarter on foreign corn, while colonial grain would come in absolutely free.

When I read this wild statement of Sir Alfred Mond it reminded me of what Mark Twain said, referring to Matthew Arnold's criticism on Grant's *Memoirs*: "I challenge any man to read that twice without becoming dizzy, and I defy any man to read it four times without becoming absolutely drunk."

In explanation of our policy, I cannot do better than give you Mr. Chamberlain's own words, which I will read:

"The original object of Mr. Cobden and his colleagues was to secure a free exchange of products between the nations of the world at their natural price, but for many years the example of the open door set by the United Kingdom has not been followed by other countries, and hostile tariffs have everywhere interfered with the natural course of trade.

"The tariff reformers, on the other hand, believe that by recovering our freedom of action, and by re-arming ourselves with the weapon of a moderate tariff, we may still defend our home market against unfair competition, and may, at the same time, secure a modification of foreign tariffs which would open the way to a fairer exchange of our respective products than we have hitherto been able to obtain.

"But they attach even greater importance to the possibility of securing by preferential and reciprocal arrangements with our Colonies a greater development of trade within the Empire and a nearer approach to a commercial union which, in some shape or another, must precede or accompany closer political relations, and without which, all history shows, no permanent co-operation is possible.

"They believe that these objects can be promoted, without loss to any class or individual, by a slight transfer of existing taxes which will not increase national burdens, but will raise the revenue required for defence and administration in such a way as to develop our inter-Imperial trade to the mutual benefit both of the Colonies and the Mother Country while adding greatly to the amount of employment for our ever-growing population."

A more comprehensive or lucid policy was never penned since the days of Pitt. (Loud applause.)

We say that free imports, or free trade as it is called, is a ghastly failure. It is really only a one-sided arrangement of free imports, but experience has proven it to be an absolute failure. There is not a single material prophecy made by Richard Cobden which has not been denied by facts. Cobden predicted that within five years all the nations of the earth would adopt free trade, but not a single nation has done so. He also prophesied that agriculture would prosper, but instead it has been practically ruined in Great Britain, millions of acres having gone out of cultivation and millions of inhabitants having emigrated. I make these statements, gentlemen, openly so that Sir Alfred Mond may have an opportunity of answering them.

To use Bismarck's phrase, we are bleeding to death so far as industry is concerned. We are being undersold and undercut by foreign manufacturers. These statements are borne out by facts and figures. Take the iron and steel industry as an example. Several works have closed and others are languishing. England was once on top in this trade, but at present she is not even a good third, and to-day we are importing ingots from Belgium and Germany for making tin plates and galvanized iron. Our industries are declining one after another. If you allow your productive industries to decline any nation is bound to decay sooner or later.

Incidentally, let me say that Sir Alfred Mond did not dare deliver his pre-historic speeches before the Chamber of Commerce in London last March, where there were those prepared to answer him and disprove every point he attempted to make. What in the name of common sense is the use of telling us what statesmen said and did 60, 70, 90, or 100 years ago? We are living in the present, and as Mr. Chamberlain himself says, "The whole case for tariff reform is that new conditions require new remedies." And Cobden himself said it was the duty of statesmen from time to time to re-adjust their policies to meet changed condition.

Now, gentlemen, Sir Alfred tells us that the landed interests are the chief supporters of tariff reform. This again is a false statement. Our strongest supporters come from the middle classes and the manufacturers and leading Liberals and Nonconformists, like Sir Algeron Firth, who are coming over to tariff reform, and, besides, we have the best of the rank and file of the working class with us. Instead of the landed interests being our supporters, the Tariff Reform League resisted the demands of the landed and agricultural interests for the imposition of a duty of a shilling per quarter on Colonial wheat. We stuck right to the programme as outlined by Mr. Chamberlain, viz., nothing on Colonial wheat, which should enter Great Britain free, and two shillings per quarter on foreign wheat. We would have no truck with anybody who would attempt to whittle away the cornerstone of Chamberlain's policy—that Colonial wheat should come into England absolutely free of duty. That is one of the false statements I repel.

Take another question, that of increase in exports and imports. Because these show an increase, it does not follow that things in general in the country are flourishing—you must take into consideration the fact that owing to increased influx of gold, values show a greater increase than quantities. Industries, however, are not making the same profit.

Let us use another illustration—that of steel rails. We used to have the world open to us. To-day the rail syndicate will not permit England to ship rails to the Argentine Republic, and several other places, and in return keep out of England and India, etc., and should England wish to ship to an old customer, say in the Argentine, the profit made on that shipment has to be paid into the pool, or else allow an equal number of rails to be sold in England or India.

Men like Sir Alfred Mond talk about the great value of our exports, but do not tell you that the exports of Germany, United States and other protected countries are increasing the amount of their exports in pounds, shillings and pence a great deal faster than we are. Where England advanced £143,000,000, or 64 per cent., Germany advanced £162,000,000, or 121 per cent., and the United States, £210,000,000, or 122 per cent. France is creeping up, and Belgium is a very good fifth. This is not the progress that Cobden prophesied.

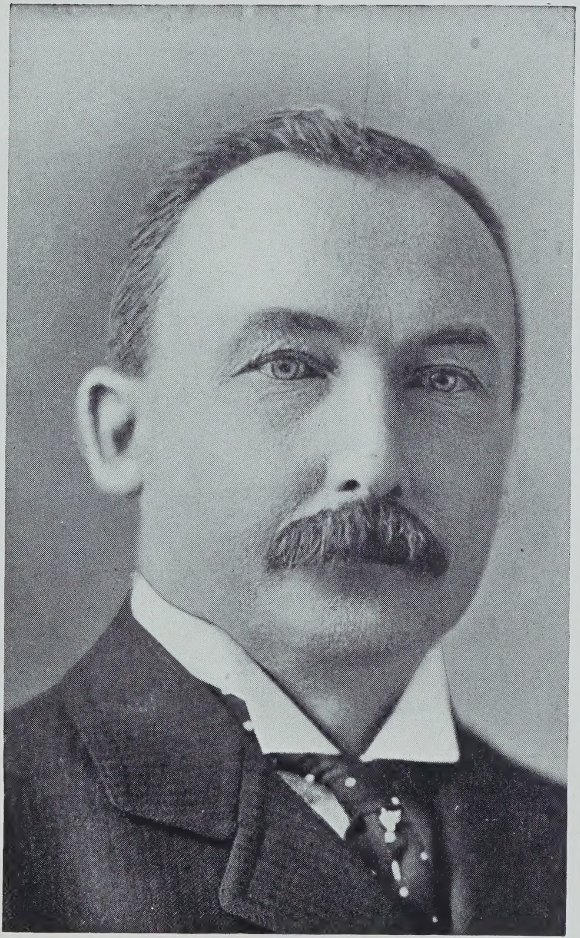
The same thing applies to cotton. We have increased £11,000,000, other countries have increased £20,000,000 in the consumption of cotton alone.

I could give you figures about shipping. Sir Wm. Lyne, at the last British Conference, stated that twenty years ago you would never see a foreign flag in Sydney Harbour, while to-day you almost look in vain for a British flag there. We are letting our coast-wise shipping trade get into the hands of foreigners.

Now with regard to capital, £480,000,000 sterling has gone into the Argentine from England that should have found its way to the Colonies. It is going out at least four or five times as fast as it did for a corresponding period, previously, under the Conservative Government. That money is drawn off by foreign interests in London, whereas it should have come to Canada, to the Cape, or other British Colonies where needed. They ask the question, point to any industry in Great Britain needing this capital. I should like to tell you of some of the industries that are being handicapped for want of this very capital. The Government wanted to buy out the Irish landlords, and required £56,000,000 sterling for this purpose. There was a time ten years ago when the Government could have raised £100,000,000 in 48 hours, but in this instance we had to take it in installments of £5,000,000 per year, and the Government were compelled to secure it on more onerous terms.

Now, Sir Alfred Mond calls us Jeremiahs, Mr. Chamberlain's Jeremiahs, and "Calamity Howlers," but we never yet have rejoiced over the state of destitution or lack of employment in our country. We have deplored it, but we are not to blame. We have had a warning—a serious warning—but you cannot blame us any more than you blame a dog for barking when his master's house is on fire. (Laughter.) This destitution has been put upon us, but I say we have never gloated over it, we deplore it and seek a remedy. Our policy is to find out that which will best bind the Colonies closer and closer together into one family, whom we want to think of, and feel are our sister nations. (Loud applause.) As Mr. Chamberlain puts it, "All for each and each for all."

This policy is one calculated to bring blessing upon all those countries that embrace it. It will strengthen us and render us strong to resist aggression from without, and promote all our interests within the Empire. England is capable of exerting a great influence for the Colonies. She can afford a market for the natural products of this almost illimitable continent, and can afford to keep within the Empire much which is sought to be diverted to other countries. We want to have within our Empire the principles of commercial exchange, to the benefit of each respective part of that Empire. We believe this is a grand, ennobling ideal—that is the policy of Mr. Chamberlain's party. We will adhere to our policy whether it takes one year, two years, or ten years. We will not slacken our hands till this great policy reigns triumphant throughout the British Empire. (Prolonged applause.)



THE HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON, K.C.

THE CONSERVATION OF CANADA'S RESOURCES.

An Address by the Hon. Clifford Sifton, M.P., Chairman of the Dominion Conservation Commission, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Oct. 20th, 1910.

I had intended saying a few words to you upon the special phase of the work of the Commission on Conservation as it relates to public health in the cities, and in that connection had thought of speaking at some length on the problem of housing for the slum population, but have changed my mind, as you have had an address in the city of Toronto from Mr. Henry Vivian, an authority on this subject, and one who can speak with far more authority than I. I shall deal with the work of the Commission as regards the conservation of our natural resources.

We have been living in an age of exploitation, or if you will, of development. It has been the aim of everyone to make the natural resources contribute to the wealth of the individual and of the community. These resources have been abundant—forests, mines, farms and water-power. The work of the United States Commission has been carried on upon a very large scale south of the international boundary and with feverish activity, in order to make amends for the reckless waste and wanton destruction; for it is no exaggeration to say that nothing has been found in the annals of the world's history where the natural resources have been converted into money or its equivalent, so rapidly, so successfully and on so large a scale as has been done in the United States during the last forty years. Farming methods used have been wasteful and unscientific; the forests have been destroyed with amazing recklessness; the fisheries have been seriously depleted. The disappearance of the forests at the present rate seems only a matter of a few decades. In various ways many districts with large areas, formerly rich, have become totally unproductive. And, worse still, the vast resources yet remaining to them, through loose and unsatisfactory laws, are practically monopolized by large financial interests, so that the people cannot participate in them on moderate and reasonable terms.

Within the last few years many have begun to look to the conservation of these resources in order that the people of the present generation may derive the proper benefit from them, and in order that these resources may endure for the benefit of their posterity. This movement has aroused strong opposition in some quarters, especially amongst the financial interests in the United States, who opposed most hotly the whole movement, and a ruthless war is being waged against the policy of reservation. But I am able to state three things: First, that most of the public-spirited men in the United States are in favour of the movement; second, that the masses of the people are with them because it is in their benefit; and third, if its theories are not followed through to the end social disturbances will occur in the future which will be largely in the nature of a national calamity.

I have gone to the United States for a text, because the States to-day is what Canada will be in thirty or forty years if proper means are not used now to preserve our natural resources. The United States is a democratic country as we are; the conditions which are existing there to-day would result here if not "nipped in the bud." In regard to the resources of Canada it is true they have been almost illimitable. In the past the greatest trouble has been that we had not the capital or the population to develop them properly. Neither of these drawbacks exist to-day; both are flowing in, and in a short time in fact, we shall find a complete change in the situation. We shall also find the United States capitalists reaching out to make use of our resources for their own purposes after their resources are exhausted. And money and business capacity will be expended without stint to obtain this end. Other countries have suffered also from a disappearance of national resources in the past, but, unfortunately, the people of these nations did not awaken in time to grapple with it in a comprehensive and effective manner. Denmark and Switzerland, little countries that we might feel inclined to jeer at, have adopted the best means of conserving their resources. It is the duty of Canadians to get rid of the old shibboleths and to learn that new problems have arisen. The great problem in Canada to-day is how to arrive at a system of government whereby laws can be framed to protect resources permanently and to prevent them falling under monopolistic control. This is a subject that surely everyone should be interested in, and it is of far-reaching and paramount importance.

I would like to give you a few facts from history bearing on this subject. History, as a rule, gives us a poor insight into the real causes, that brought about the decadence of the old nations, but we are able to augment its lessons. Do you think that had Rome maintained her agricultural productiveness and agricultural citizenship, the barbarians from the north would ever have looted the western empire? Had Egypt, once the granary of the world, conserved her resources, she would not have descended to the impoverished state in which Britain found her. It is only during the past fifty years that she has attempted to lift her head again. The passing of the agricultural class had struck the death-knell of that nation, and the same thing can be said about all other great nations which have passed. Of each one of them it can be said: "It used up its national resources, the only means of subsistence for its people." Can anyone estimate what the saving of the grape vine was to France? This was done by one man, Louis Pasteur, who set out to ascertain the trouble, and found out what was killing it. Why is it that Canada has no serious and widespread poverty to-day? It is due to the great resources which are so easily convertible into money. What is happening in England? Where will she be when her iron and coal disappear, if her agricultural population is not restored? How will the great factories sustain a population when fuel is gone? Decline must inevitably set in.

I am trying to illustrate the scope of conservation by pointing out to you what has happened without it. I will now try to show how it can be applied in Canada. In this country it is the people who rule, and whatever they say should be done and will be done. The fact that a necessary thing has not been done shows that the people did not take the trouble to see that it was done. Important changes can be effected in Canada more quickly than they can anywhere else in the world. The most important thing in the policy of conservation is not to waste time, but to act quickly. In some cases where remedies are desirable a loss of time is not of so much importance as the troubles remain stationary, but when forests are being cut down or burned down and not replaced, damage is being done which will take centuries to repair. We have an illustration in the housing problem. If we allow men and women to herd together a race of degenerates will grow up, which years and years of legislation will not stamp out, in fact I have never known of a race of people who have become degenerate regaining their former physique. If the Conservation policy is properly applied, we can await the flood of population here fearlessly. They are accustomed to freedom, but they are not always alert to the dangers that arise from it, nor are they always willing to acknowledge that virtues exist under other forms of government, which we will not tolerate here. The United States is democratic, yet the monopolization of wealth there is proceeding at a rate that has never been equalled by other countries. The result of this cornering of wealth must mean poverty and want for the masses in a few years. In Germany, under an almost despotic form of government, they are going in for a scientific application of Conservation in order to bring about economy in the means of the people's subsistence. That is not being practiced here nor in the United States. With proper protection in this country, we can support any population that can be reasonably anticipated. We can make progress, but it should be safeguarded and not allowed to develop into destruction. The difficulty is to get those in control to see how great are the opportunities to do the necessary things to bring Conservation about.

Then there is the question of water-power. There was a perfect epidemic of water-power legislation at the last Session, much of which was objectionable. No perpetual franchise on water-power should ever be given by a Government. Limited franchise might be granted, but the rate to be charged for power should be under public control. We also conceive it to be the duty of the Commission to strengthen the hands of any body working along the same line as ourselves, and, therefore, will promise the heartiest co-operation to forestry and fish and game associations.

We have only to look at the Grand River to see what happens when the forests have been cut away from the sources and along the banks. Such matters as these require immediate attention, and it is my opinion that re-afforestation should be in the forefront of the necessary legislation that should be passed in this country. I think the press ought to speak out in vigorous terms and keep this matter ever before the Government. In the United States it is estimated that if the consumption of lumber does not increase, their supply will last about thirty years more. As the consumption would inevitably increase, this means the supply will last only about twenty years. You can imagine the plight of about 120,000,000 of people without lumber! What will they do? Why, they will come to Canada for it if proper measures are not passed to protect our forests. If the United States are compelled to fall back upon Canadian supply, and if this happens twenty years hence, the Canadian supply would last only seven years. It is estimated that at the present rate of going the United States will then have no timber in the ordinary sense of the word. A rather appalling fact! It is estimated that the timber supply of the United States, that is merchantable timber, apart from fire-wood, poles and fence rails, is twenty-two hundred billion feet, board measure. The annual consumption is a little over one billion feet, and, calculating the annual growth as thirty billion feet, the net annual consumption, therefore, is seventy billion feet, and this makes just thirty years' supply, or a little less. That is, if the estimate of what they have got at the present time does not turn out to be exaggerated (which I think we can hardly hope for).

It is estimated that Canada has the following supply of timber at the present time: Prince Edward Island, six hundred million feet; Nova Scotia, twelve thousand million feet; Quebec, seventy-five thousand million feet; Ontario, seventy-five thousand million; Dominion Lands, one hundred and fifty thousand million feet; British Columbia, two hundred thousand million feet—a total of five hundred billion feet of lumber, against twenty-two hundred billion feet in the United States. I believe there are men in this room to-day who will see the time when the people of Canada will be compelled to ask for the prohibition of the export of lumber. Why not now conserve our forests and ensure the supply for all time to come? There are enormous tracts of land in Canada which can never be used for anything else but the growing of timber. What a magnificent reward there would be if only some of the acres were afforested, or re-afforested and protected from fire?

Let me add one word, gentlemen, upon the subject of agriculture, which is the most valuable resource we have, because it raises a virile population which is the backbone of a nation. Great Britain to-day is bemoaning the depletion of her agricultural population, and unless a radical change takes place, it will become a thing of the past. Now, what is our position here? In 1907 our production of wheat was 22 bushels to the acre. In the United States it was about 14 bushels; in Germany, 27.6 bushels; Ontario, 18 bushels or less. Manitoba, with virgin soil, less than 16 bushels to the acre. Now, you say, how can this state of things be avoided; people have to get their living out of the soil; they must live. What has been done in little Denmark? When Germany took Schleswig-Holstein it annexed the most fertile part of Denmark. The Danes only had a country of 16,000 square miles that was barren of all else but a scrub. They spent twenty-five years of experimental work in finding trees that would grow upon their land. To-day this small country has half, in fact more than half of its population employed in agriculture, has 80 per cent. of its entire area under cultivation, and exports annually $80,000,000 worth of produce—$69,000,000 of which goes to Great Britain. What is our task, gentlemen, compared with the one the Danes faced and overcame? The Netherlands, with 126,048 square miles, and a population of 5,672,000, produces $314,000,000 worth of produce annually, and 232 bushels of potatoes to the acre on an average; and any person who knows anything about Agriculture, will say that is hard to beat. These instances that I have mentioned will serve to show what can be done if proper methods of Agriculture are used.

Now, how do we compare in Ontario? I understand that there has been very little increase in Agriculture during the last fifteen years. In fact, no increase at all. I am not in a position to speak authoritatively, but I am assured by those who ought to know, that Ontario is practically standing still. You have in Mr. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, a skilled man and one of the best in the world for the work he has in hand if he were given an opportunity of doing the work. He told me of at least fifty cases where young men who had received a scientific education at the expense of the Province were now teaching in other countries. These men had gone abroad because the people of Ontario could not afford to pay them sufficient salaries to keep them here and teach their people Agriculture. The land in Ontario, without doubt, is only producing about one-third what it is capable of producing. We have in Ontario as good farmers as there are in the world, but there is not nearly enough of them. It is simply heart-breaking to go through the farming sections of Ontario and see the careless, shiftless methods used. What would you do, you say? I would say to Mr. James: "You are the man to remedy this, put trained men in each district. We will give you the money. Educate these farmers and compel them by the force of your persuasive arguments to adopt proper methods. We'll give you the money and look to you for results."

THE NAVY AND THE EMPIRE.

An Address by Mr. Clive Phillipps-Wolley, of Victoria, B.C., before a joint luncheon of the British Empire League, the Canadian Defence League, and the Empire Club of Canada—Mr. Castell Hopkins in the chair—at Toronto, Oct. 26th, 1910.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: After listening to the eloquent remarks of your Chairman, it seems hardly fair for me to tackle such a large crowd; as a matter of fact, I am but a solitary individual, having come some 3,000 miles from Western Canada to face a strange audience. I can only ask you, as Joshua asked his people, to hold up my hands. While in the West the spirit of commercialism is rampant, one is almost obliged to address people more in connection with business interests, and one is almost always sure to be asked what dollars are in view. I do not want to so address a Toronto audience. Toronto is a city of self-sacrifice, and I appeal to you on Imperial grounds. I do not rely on purely business interests, I appeal to your history, which is the history of the U.E. Loyalists, and that is the history of the greatest self-sacrifice, of a type that Britain needs to-day.

I want to find my brief, and I want to say here that I am not a fit person to plead this brief. Let me point out to you what my case is. This is it: That the corporate existence of the Empire is the British Navy, and as Canada is an integral part of the Empire, the British Navy is also the basis of her corporate existence. Without the British Navy there can be no Britain. If that for which the Navy League and similar organizations you have in Toronto, stands for is swept away, then the Empire must go with it. Now I want to ask you one or two straight questions. Who are you? If you tell me you are Canadians, I shall congratulate you on being citizens of a young nation, eight million strong; I shall congratulate you upon having the largest slice of white man's land left on the globe; I shall congratulate you upon having two hundred million dollars worth of trade afloat; but I shall deplore the fact that you have two huge sea-boards unprotected, and an enormous large frontier almost so. I shall remind you that you are not the owners of Canada, but that you are the possessors of a life interest—that this is your reward for being the trustees of those pioneers who won Canada for the British race.

Will you tell me you are English? Again I shall congratulate you. It is true Canada has a history of only 300 years, a history illuminated by the courage and industry of her pioneers—a history, gentlemen, sanctified by the self-sacrifice of the U.E. Loyalists. But in the Old Country, if you tell me you are English, I will say you are a people forty odd million strong, that you have the richest country in the world—that you own, I think it is something like sixteen hundred million pounds worth of trade. I think that is supposed to be the value (you see I am not using notes, but will vouch for the facts). Being the meek ones of the earth, you have possessed the earth, and while it is not true that all the best portion of the earth is British, yet it is not incorrect to say that three-fourths of it is. More than that, you have a history as to which the earth has no peer. More than that you have possessions that none of your rivals enjoy, and at present you are the object of the world's envy; you have a future, if vou will hold together, Canada and Britain, such as the dreams of a poet could not realize or imagine. Your business of the past, the business which made your wealth, has been the business of the sea-rovers and vikings, you lived by the plunder of the world; as traders you amassed the wealth of the world; as sea-carriers you made your money in the past, as your brethren in the extreme West shall make their wealth in the future.

But to enjoy all this it must be, not that we are Canadians or English, but your answer to me must be—We are British. And if you be British, gentlemen, hold up your heads, for there is nothing on earth your peers. You shall not only control the wealth of the world, but you shall control the world itself. If Britain makes war, it should be in the only way that war should be made—to command peace. There are those who cry out against the military spirit, and there is no man in this company more thoroughly agrees with that than I do. War is a hideous thing but, as I have said, if Britain makes war it should be in the interests of peace. The seas of the world are safe only in our hand. They are not safe in the hand of a great military power. They are safe only in the hands of a trader nation, a naval power interested in maintaining peace. Only in their hands are the seas of the world safe. In the hundred years since Trafalgar, which gave England command of the seas, the other nations have recovered themselves, and the poorest of all, the bitter-poor, hungry land of Prussia grew, as only poor countries will grow. Like Scotland it produced great men. It had not the gold or the art of the world, but it produced one man—Bismarck—whose first great work was the re-organization of the army in 1862. In 1864 Prussia tackled Denmark, defeating her, and took Schleswig-Holstein. In 1866 she attacked Austria, and defeated her in six weeks, took Hesse, Warsaw and another Province. And in 1870 she picked a quarrel with France, and defeated her, securing 200,000,000 francs as indemnity and Alsace and Lorraine. In 1870 Bismarck presented the world with a united Germany and an army of 4,000,000, the acknowledged mightiest of the earth. Germany had practically conquered the earth's armies and stood as absolute master of Europe, and as far as land-fighting went, of the whole world.

Now, what else was it that Germany still needed? She needed two things which Britain has. She wants Britain's trade and Britain's land. There is no room for German expansion—she wants the colonies which we only have. The Emperor declared that he needed the trident of the world in his mailed fist. He started the German Navy League, which is now a million and a quarter strong. Emperor William also stated that a ruler had a right to break his word if it would benefit his people. In 1896 the Germans had four poor, badly constructed battleships, but in 1912, according to no less an authority than Sir Edward Grey, they will have the biggest fleet the world has ever seen. In 1900 they spent 3,500,000 pounds on their fleet. In 1909 they spent 11,000,000 pounds, although in that same year they declared a deficit of 10,000,000 pounds. I want you to notice this—they are building their ships on borrowed money. People do not borrow money to build ships except for an emergency—it is a poor investment as a rule. What is the emergency, you say; we shall see in a moment. Last year Germany had two slips capable of carrying Dreadnoughts, to-day she has 17 of them. Then, you know all about the long quays at Emden for the embarkation of invading troops. You have read the last few months that Germany has established the greatest naval base the world has at Wilhelmshaven. This is the greatest naval base, gentlemen, the world has ever seen, and it is only 350 miles from Sheerness.

I want to call your attention to one or two points in this: 1st. That Germany is building these ships on borrowed money. 2nd. They are of such known coal carrying capacity that they can only be operated on a near neighbour.

Will you tell us who this neighbour is? Is it the United States. That is not so far off, but whether she strikes at the United States or whether she strikes at England it makes little odds; for whatever our personal feeling may be in the matter, England will never stand by and see her eldest son licked, any more than, I believe, that son would see her beaten. She is not going to operate her Navy against France, because France is crushed, and at the present moment she is open to attack by the German land forces. She is not going to operate against Austria, because Austria has been coerced into Alliance. She is not going to operate against Japan, because Japan is busy watching Russia and cannot take her eyes off her. Who then? Three hundred and fifty miles from Sheerness—England is the only possible enemy. I have been told "Yes; but the Germans are a noble, upright people." Well, who said they are not, for are not we of German origin? I have only one thing to say against the German Emperor or President Roosevelt—perhaps the two greatest men in the world to-day. The one thing against them is that they are not Englishmen.

The policy of the Germans should be plain to us.

Bismarck said: "The only natural and really healthy state is a thoroughly selfish state." Does that look as though Germany would not make war? Gentlemen, the facts are that Germany is loading her guns, and Britain is the only nation that has anything that Germany wants, and if we are not a nation of fools we will load ours also, which is the best way of preventing war. There is an agitation on foot in the Old Country at the present time to raise 100,000,000 pounds as a Navy fund. It seems a great sum, but our little South African war cost 300,000,000 pounds, and an unsuccessful war waged against Germany would mean not only the loss of money—all you possess—but also the loss of dignity, a dignity you have been 300 years evolving; loss of the pride which alone keeps your heads up as they are to-day; and worse still, loss to the world of those principles of fair-play which Christ taught, and which Britain has exemplified. That principle of fair-play which has been so valuable to the men of England—the workingmen of England from the time of Alfred the Great to Edward the Beloved! It will cost us only one-third as much now to prepare for war, and thus maintain peace, than it would to have a little war in South Africa.

This is not a political game. I am no partisan. I suppose it is necessary to be so at times, but this is a case where no man should be for party, but all for the State. I can understand party politics being a very amusing game, and in its place a necessary institution, but when you come to those things which touch the vital issues of your national life, then I say to the gentlemen of the Parliament House—Hands off. This is the people's game. The party who would refuse to send soldiers or sailors to the help of England would be abolished and disappear like smoke before the wind if there was any question of danger. With all due deference to present company, I will say that politicians always remind me of an organ grinder's monkey. He is all well enough as an interlude, but if the organ begins to play "Home Sweet Home" or "Rule Britannia," and the monkey interfered with the music, it would be bad business for the monkey!

I must say something about the policy of our own country, for there is a great deal of misunderstanding, and many of our best well-wishers do not take a wise position in regard to it. I have been fortunate enough to have resolutions passed at every meeting I have held of this kind from the coast to Winnipeg, and I want to say that I think Sir Wilfred Laurier's policy is a satisfactory one as far as it goes, that is to say, a policy to introduce into this country not only shipbuilding, but the naval spirit. This is far better than the suggestion I saw in a French-Canadian paper recently, of putting down a lump sum and have done with it. Gentlemen, we never want to be done with it, we want to build up a Canadian Navy with Canadian capital and Canadian workmen. This is a magnificent policy, but I add this, that if we have proof or can prove that an emergency exists, then a policy which will give us a navy in 20 years is not sufficient for this nation. I would say add to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy—I say add to it—do not talk about a "tin-pot navy" (that is disloyal), but strengthen his hands, ask him to do a vast deal more. Shall we have the "Niobe" on the Atlantic and the "Rainbow" on the Pacific, and then, if war breaks out, ask New Zealand to take care of our fleet. When war breaks out, shall we crowd behind our little sister? or shall we take our place in the front ranks of Britain's battles?

CANADA AND THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY.

An Address delivered by Mayor George W. Stephens, President of the Montreal Board of Harbour Commissioners, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 3rd, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It is my first pleasure to thank you for this invitation and to warn you, that though your ears may not be ravished by the eloquence these walls are accustomed to, nor your intelligence refreshed with thoughts that are new, yet I am convinced that the story of the St. Lawrence waterway and its significance to Canada, may at least call attention to a national inheritance the competitive value of which has not been fully recognized by Canadians. At her present rate of increase Canada will, during the 20th century, contribute to the Empire a population exceeding that now occupying the British Isles, and will produce from one quarter of her available wheat areas in the West more wheat than now comprises the total wheat crop of the United States. There are but two methods of providing for the handling of this new business, not to mention the concurrent industrial production of the country:

1st.—By increasing transportation and terminal facilities on Canadian soil.

2nd.—By allowing business to be taken care of by transportation routes and sea terminals not within the limits of this Dominion.

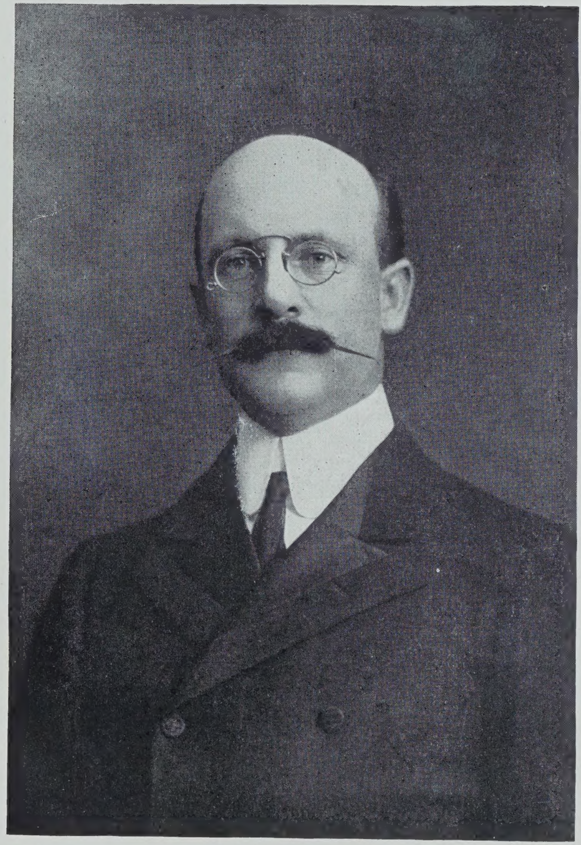
For the purpose of my few remarks to-day I shall ask you to consider the St. Lawrence route as comprising:

1st.—The channel which gives access to the head of ocean navigation.

2nd.—The inland waterway which links the sea route with the heart of a great continent.

3rd.—The ocean inland distributing ports belonging to the system.

The whole system extending from Fort William to the sea comprises a length of 2,500 miles. I like to re-



MAJOR GEORGE W. STEPHENS.

gard this system as a great national undertaking into which are going the money, the genius and the patriotism of the Canadian people, and out of which are coming year by year privileges and power to the transportation interests of Canada, instead of diversity of control and authority. I like to believe that one day there will preside over this great water-route a directorate of far-sighted men who will guide and control its destinies, will shape and administer its transportation efficiency in a manner that will preserve to Canada the prestige of possessing the shortest and deepest trade route from the heart of this continent to the sea.

Since the day upon which the intrepid navigator Jacques Cartier turned the prow of his little vessel into the St. Lawrence and christened the River after the name of the Saint upon whose birthday he entered its waters, the pages of our history have been filled with the heroic struggle of brave men who had the courage of their convictions and who carried the visions of their imaginations to a practical conclusion. It has been stated that as the 19th Century had belonged to the people of the United States, so would the 20th belong to the people of Canada. What the potential force of this statement truly is only appears upon close examination. Let us, therefore, for a little dwell on the conditions which make this statement so remarkable.

Few realize that at the opening of the 19th Century the population of the United States numbered less than six millions, stretched in a human fringe along the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Florida, their faces turned towards the Atlantic Ocean, their backs to the setting sun upon that great undiscovered West, which was to bring wealth and population undreamed of in the opening years of that century. Possessing not a single mile of railway, not a single mile of canal, we find them however, in our day with a population numbering ninety millions of people, a railway system in operation comprising 223,000 miles, and a developed commerce of proportions unparalleled in the history of the world. This marvellous progress of one hundred years is due to the faith, perseverance and courage of her people, but most of all to the development of her means of transportation.

Compare this with the conditions under which the opening years of the 20th Century are surrounded, with reference to the development of our own country. Canada with her six millions of people starts the 20th Century with the same population as the United States did the 19th, but with this difference—not huddled together on the sea coast as was the case with our southern neighbour, but stretched out across the northern half of this continent, in an unbroken line of prosperous Provinces from sea to sea, linked together by the steel ribbons of three great transcontinental railroads, possessing seaports on both oceans, 26,000 miles of railway in operation, and 1,400 miles of interior navigation extending westward to the heart of this great continent through the centre of our own Dominion.

Project the St. Lawrence route across the map of Europe beginning with the North Sea, and you would give to that continent a deep waterway tapping the commerce of Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, Austria and Russia. Give this transportation system to South Africa and you would cut that continent in two at the Equator, and join together the South Atlantic with the Indian Ocean. Apply it to South America and the waterway would rival the great Amazon River, stretching from British Guiana on the north to Buenos Ayres on the south. And if the same water-route were possessed by our great neighbour to the south of us, it would give to the United States the deepest waterway on this continent extending from New York to Salt Lake City.

But neither Europe nor South Africa, nor South America, nor the United States possess this waterway; it is the inheritance of the Canadian people, by whose enterprise it has been developed, and upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of maintaining its prestige. In the possession of this great national asset, into which has gone the genius, the courage and the money of the Canadian people, Canada unquestionably has within her midst the cheapest and most efficient national trade route on this continent. The St. Lawrence River to-day carries to and from the port of Montreal one-third of our country's national trade, equivalent to something over $200,000,000 in value, during seven months of the year.

In this enterprise there are just 6,000,000 Canadian shareholders all equally interested, who have invested in the St. Lawrence Ship Canal and the Port of Montreal $20,000,000; and upon this investment they are doing a business of $200,000,000 in value per annum and are carrying in freight to and from this country over their national highway over 4,000,000 tons per annum of exports and imports. If the average cost of transporting 4,000,000 tons by water, 1,000 miles, is 10c. a ton, the cost to the people of Canada over the Canadian waterway would equal $400,000. If on the other hand, the St. Lawrence route were obliterated and the 4,000,000 tons of exports and imports had to travel that 1,000 miles by rail, the Canadian people would be called upon to spend for its transportation $4,000,000 or just ten times the rate of to-day, under which they effect an annual saving of $3,600,000.

Within the last five years this Channel has been lighted and buoyed in a manner to make it the equal in aids to navigation of any channel in the world. Its lighting between Quebec and Montreal has added 60 days to the season by making navigation as safe by night as by day. It is now 550 feet wide in the straight and 750 feet at the curves, and its depth varies from a minimum of 40 ft. in the spring to 31 ft. in the fall. Fifteen years ago the largest vessel trading in the St. Lawrence had a tonnage of 6,000. Ten years ago the tonnage of the largest ship trading in the St. Lawrence was 10,000.

To-day ships of 15,000 tons come to the Port of Montreal. This means that within the next ten years at the same rate of increase ships of 25,000 tons will be doing business in the St. Lawrence trade, and this is what the ocean channel and the Canadian sea terminal must be prepared to meet.

Let us now follow that inland waterway which has its source at the heart of a continent and links together the five great lakes, canals and river with the ocean navigation just described. For 1,400 miles the call of the inland waters is to the sea. As the salmon comes from the ocean deep for thousands of miles to mate in the fresh life-giving waters of the inland stream so these inland oceans of fresh water crave for the sea. This fact gives to Canada the possession of the longest and deepest inland water system in the world, and it gives to the Province of Ontario a coastline bordering upon these inland seas of several thousand miles. Behind and embracing this water system lies a hinterland of fertile country. The great Province of Ontario with her three million people, with its area of fertile lands, greater than France or Germany, surrounds these five great lakes on the north. Behind is our own great West, containing over a million square miles of the finest agricultural, mineral and timber lands yet discovered in the world. To the south and belonging to our neighbour are the great middle and western States. These two tremendous tracts of commercially valuable country find their natural transportation outlet and inlet by way of the inland water-route we are now discussing.

The four Western termini upon which converge the competing railroads of the United States and Canada are Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth and the twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur. The magnitude of the inland business carried to and from the lake terminal has created a water-borne commerce aggregating 225 billion tons per annum, carried in craft valued at $233,000,000, and costing to transport less than 1-12 of one per cent. per ton per mile. To move this vast volume by rail would cost, according to the most accurate comparative information available, not less than nine times the water rate. This is an unanswerable argument for the wise development of our water routes and termini.

From either of the four lake termini mentioned the present Canadian water route by way of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence route, compared with the other water outlet to the ocean by way of Buffalo and New York gives to the present Canadian route an advantage of 500 miles in distance between these points and Liverpool. There are other advantages to the Canadian route which are not to be overlooked. From Fort William to Montreal the distance is 1,200 miles; from Fort William to New York it is 1,350 miles. In that distance by the Canadian route there are but 70 miles of canal with 50 locks, and in the American route there are 354 miles of canal and 74 locks. As the open season of navigation available to both the Canadian and American routes to the seaside are identical, carrying capacity, speed and terminal facilities are the three chief factors in the competitive value of each route, and will unquestionably determine the strategic trade value of each.

The enterprise of the American railways in supplying Buffalo, the western terminus of the lake business, with ample elevator capacity and the return cargoes available from that port westward have in a large measure neutralized the natural advantages of a water route into which Canadian money and development have gone while the present Erie Canal to Albany has, as an export medium for grain, been overshadowed by the power of rail transportation from Buffalo eastward to American ports. This within the next few years is to be changed by the building of a new barge canal from Buffalo to Albany having as a maximum depth 11 ft., a lock length of 328 ft. and a carrying capacity of 2,600 tons.

This will enable our American neighbour, who now possesses adequate elevator capacity at his eastern lake terminal, to invite for water transportation to New York a large portion of the western grain traffic. The question therefore, of importance to Canadians is to carefully consider what position our present St. Lawrence waterway will occupy in view of the added water facilities provided through American territory. The Canadian route as it exists must be tested and the question of adequate water terminals at the points of interchange examined, for it will ill-become the spirit of 20th Century Canadianism to rely on nature alone for the transportation of her commerce. Where the rail meets the water at Fort William terminal facilities are in good hands and the foundations are being laid to meet future traffic. At Montreal we are creating elevator and conveyor capacities to meet this new business.

Somewhere, therefore, between Montreal and Fort William there must be created ample and adequate terminal accommodation at the best interchange point between the lake and river commerce. From Lake Superior to the eastern end of Lake Erie the waterway conditions are identical for both, and the lake traffic reaches Buffalo and Port Colborne under like conditions. At Buffalo the storage capacity for grain at the present moment is 22,000,000 bushels and the great proportion of this storage capacity is owned and controlled by the great railway running out of Buffalo to the seas. Without neutral storage capacity the transportation of grain becomes, through the United States, a lake and rail proposition. We offset this with a beginning of a terminal at Port Colborne, having a storage capacity of 1,000,000 bushels and from Port Colborne onward to the sea there is a channel depth of 14 feet compared with the channel depth of 11 feet through the new barge canal of our neighbour. The Port Colborne elevator is not controlled by any railway and is free to receive water-borne grain for transfer through the Welland Canal or by railway depending upon the route.

Coming through the Welland Canal into Lake Ontario we have on the American side the Port of Oswego with an elevator capacity of 800,000 bushels and on the Canadian side we have Prescott and Kingston with an elevator capacity of 1,800,000. Oswego, 364 miles from the sea, with 200 miles of canal to go through, is the American transfer point nearest an ocean port. The Canadian eastern lake terminal at Prescott is 119 miles from the ocean with only 46 miles of canal. From Oswego to New York a boat drawing 11 feet of water and carrying 2,600 tons, making an average speed of 12 miles per hour, will take 30 hours to make the distance from Oswego to New York, the same ship leaving Prescott for Montreal will take 10 hours. With equal terminal facilities at both places, grain shipped by the Canadian route will be 20 hours on its way to Liverpool by the time the boat leaving Oswego will be discharging her cargo at New York; if we assume that the American boat can travel from Oswego to New York through the 200 miles of canal at the same speed and carry the same cargo that the Canadian boats can travel and carry through our own system, which is not the case. Allowing six miles per hour for the average speed while in the canal and eight miles while in the open water the comparison between the two routes would be on a fair basis.

Under these conditions it would take the boat leaving Oswego 54 hours to reach New York and take the boat leaving Prescott 17 hours to Montreal. It, therefore, transpires that the grain shipped by way of the St. Lawrence route and Montreal would be two days on its way to Liverpool while the grain was being discharged in the Port of New York, and the Canadian boat that carried that grain to Montreal will be two days on her return trip to get her second cargo. In despatch, therefore, the present Canadian route under equal terminal development has four days per trip advantage of the new American route; with the existing conditions on the Canadian side as against the improved conditions in five years on the American side.

In physical conditions, therefore, the present Canadian waterway may be counted upon to hold its own against the new American barge canal in process of construction. The Canadian route of to-day is three feet deeper, has fifteen fewer locks, has a greater carrying capacity and is 110 miles shorter than will be the new barge canal from Buffalo to New York when in 1915 it will be open for business. But in my humble opinion equality of physical conditions alone will not be sufficient to ensure to the Canadian route that predominence of trade advantage it should enjoy. We can have and must have the shortest and best equipped trade route in North America. Our present weakness is in storage capacity, terminal facilities and ship tonnage. Without this equipment the best waterway in the world will only yield a small percentage of its efficiency. In the order of their importance, therefore, I put the problems to be worked out to maintain the prestige of the St. Lawrence route:

1st.—Vastly greater terminal facilities.

2nd.—Increased storage capacity.

3rd.—A deeper inland waterway.

We have now briefly traced the channel approaching the head of ocean navigation at Montreal. We have followed the inland waterway from the Great Lakes to its meeting point with the ocean business. Permit me now to say a word or two with reference to your national sea port at Montreal where inland and ocean navigation meet. Your national port and its affairs are administered by a Commission of three appointed by the Federal Government and paid to look after its business and development. Up to the present time there have been spent in its development $12,000,000, and upon the St. Lawrence Ship Canal $10,000,000, a total of $22,000,000, and upon that capital investment there is transacted a tonnage of five and half millions in nine months.

The monthly business export and import in value exceeds that of any port in North America except New York. Glasgow has been developed at a cost of eighty millions, Newcastle seventy-five millions, Manchester fifty millions, and these three British ports are each doing a monthly business less in value than Montreal. Your national port controls 32 miles of river frontage without a single dollar of vested interest to impede its economical development. It controls and operates its own railways and is building a high level railway from one end of the Harbour to the other. This high level road will give to every industrial establishment on the river front access to every railway doing business with Montreal on the same terms and deep water communication as well.

It is equipped with the most modern and most extensive grain handling system in the world—every ship being fed with grain at her own berth night or day.

Within the last two years it has been possible to reduce the handling cost of every ton of through freight by one-half, the reduction amounting to 22½c. per ton. Montreal is practically a free port, no tonnage dues being charged against the ship. She raises her revenue through a modest wharfage charge, shed rentals and privileges, and has been able to pay up to the present all her interest and maintenance charges without resorting to other sources of revenue ordinarily used in other ports. Finally, it is the aim of the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal to create a modern business sea-port whose economic administration and careful development will provide to Canadians a sea-port of which they shall be justly proud.

CANADA AT THE GRAVE OF WOLFE.

An Address by Mr. F. C. Wade, K.C., of Vancouver, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on November 10th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

To realize the debt we owe to General Wolfe, it is only necessary to glance for a moment at some of the incidents of the Seven Years' War. Let us look first at the characters in the drama. On the side of Prussia, Frederick the Great, with the army which had been bequeathed by his father, "the best engine of war in Europe," and he himself the first warrior of his time, if not of all time. On the side of France Lowendal and Marshal Saxe, and on this continent, the Marquis de Montcalm, the Chevalier de Levis, the Chevalier de Bourlamaque, Baron Dieskau, Bougainville, and others. On the side of England, the Duke of Cumberland, the victor at Culloden, and in statesmanship, Fox, Carteret, the two Townshends, Mansfield, Halifax, but above and beyond all, the great commoner, William Pitt, dearly loving England, and himself described as "England incarnate;" on this continent on the British side, Brigadier Lord Howe, Braddock, Major-General Amherst, and under him the three brigadiers, Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe, and in the Colonial forces, with Braddock at Monongahela, and as his aide-de-camp in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, Adjutant-General George Washington of the Virginia militia, Shirley, and Robert Rogers, with his famous Rangers.

With such combatants in the field, great results were to be expected. "This," said Earl Granville on his deathbed, "has been the most glorious war and the most triumphant peace that England ever knew." "The Peace of Paris," says Parkman, "marks an epoch than which none in modern history is fruitful of grander results." "It is no exaggeration to say," writes Green, "that three of the many victories of the Seven Years' War determined for ages to come the destinies of mankind. With that of Rossbach began the re-creation of Germany; with that of Plassey, the influence of Europe told for the first time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East; with the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States"—and he might have added, of British America.

To understand the position on this continent, it is necessary to remember that before the Seven Years' War the French, to use Parkman's words, "claimed all America from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico and Florida to the North Pole, except only the ill-defined possessions of the English on the borders of Hudson's Bay; and to these vast regions with adjacent islands, they gave the general name of New France. . . . . Canada at the north and Louisiana to the south, were the keys of a boundless interior, rich with incalculable possibilities.

The English Colonies, ranged along the Atlantic Coast, had no royal road to the great inland, and were in a manner shut between the mountains and the sea. To break through these boundaries and spread over the vast hinterland of the continent was the object of the British Colonists, and for years the struggle raged between the Colonists and the French along the forts of the Ohio on the Great Lakes, at Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Fort William Henry and along Lake Champlain, at Louisbourg, in Acadia, and finally at Quebec, where Wolfe's marvellous victory on the plains of Abraham made this an Anglo-Saxon continent, began the history of the United States, gave birth to Canada, and widened the boundaries of the British Empire to include this great Dominion. If Napoleon had succeeded at the Battle of Trafalgar, it has been said, "the fate of the world would have been changed. Toronto and Cape Town, Melbourne, and Sydney, and Auckland might have been ruled by French prefects." Had not Wolfe succeeded at Quebec there would have been no North America for Nelson to save. What do we not owe to both? Is it too much after the lapse of so great a time, and close to the

150th anniversary of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, to ask the Canadian people to honour his memory by erecting a monument at the grave at Greenwich to show that Canada at any rate does honour to the hero whose victory and death were destined to give her birth? I say nothing of the duty of the United States. Had Wolfe not broken the French power, the British Colonists would have been overwhelmed in any attempt to break through the barriers that herded them between the mountains and the sea. Had not the French menace been removed, it would have been folly on their part to throw off their British allegiance, only to risk falling under French control. Wolfe's victory paved the way. But for that great event the Declaration of Independence might never have been written. It certainly would have been postponed.

A word with regard to the Marquis de Montcalm and the brave and chivalrous nation for whom he fought. Never was a war contested under greater difficulties than those which Montcalm had to face. Louis XV. and Pompadour furnished 100,000 men to fight the battles of Austria, and but twelve hundred to help New France. Had the proportions been reversed, or anything like it, what would have happened? Vaudreuil as Governor, representing Old France, did everything which malignant jealousy could suggest to undermine and checkmate Montcalm; had he loyally supported him, what might have been the result? Besides Vaudreuil, there was the unspeakable Bigot, the rascally Cadet, and Pean, Breard and many more to struggle against in his own ranks. Was ever a brave leader more harassed than poor Montcalm? A noble spirit—and great and noble he certainly was—never struggled against greater neglect on the part of his masters and more persistent and insidious treachery amongst colleagues than did Montcalm.

"The France of Louis XV," wrote the Abbé Casgrain, "hastened to forget the memory of Montcalm, which lay upon it as a burden of remorse. The France of America will always cherish it. It has forgotten his faults to remember only his virtues and his heroism. The name of

Montcalm is inscribed on our monuments and public places. History and poetry have joined hands to celebrate the national heritage of his glory. The mausoleum raised over his tomb a century after his death is not less honoured than that of Wolfe at Westminster." Can we point to the same devotion on the part of the England of America, a like reverence for the memory of the great Wolfe, by whose victory the American continent became the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race? Do we make pilgrimages to the grave of our great hero? What columns, what mausoleum have we erected over his last resting place? I question very much it one in a thousand British Canadians could name the place where General Wolfe's remains were laid at rest on November 23rd, 1759.

General the Marquis de Montcalm was buried practically on the field of battle, in the very ground for which he fought, and surrounded by the sorrowing people for whom he died. "The confusion in Quebec was such," writes the Abbé Casgrain, "that it was impossible to find a workman to make a coffin for the deceased General. "Seeing this difficulty," says the annalist of the Ursulines, "our foreman, an old Frenchman of Dauphine, known amongst us as Bonhomme Michel, hastily got together some planks, and, shedding copious tears, made a rough box, little in keeping with the precious corpse it was to hold." The body of the brave soldier was laid within it, and at about nine p.m., the funeral procession started for the Ursulines' chapel, through the streets encumbered with debris and ruined walls. Behind the coffin marched in mournful silence the commander of the garrison with his officers, and many citizens, their number being added to as they advanced, by the townsfolk, women and children. No tolling bells or salvos of artillery announced the General's funeral, for the only guns that spoke hurled projectiles on the town. The crowd filled the church, wherein all was absolutely dark save for the wax tapers arranged round the trestle which bore the bier. To the right, close to the convent chapel's railing, a bombshell had torn up the flooring, and made an excavation in the soil. This cavity it was which, enlarged and deepened, formed a suitable soldier's grave. The Curé of Quebec, Abbé Resch, assisted by two of the Cathedral canons, intoned the Libera, those present, and the choir of eight nuns, who remained to guard the convent, responding. Then the coffin was lowered into the ditch, 'whereupon,' says the convent's chronicler, 'the sobs and tears broke out afresh, for it seemed as though New France were descending into the grave with her general's remains.' "

Had Wolfe been buried in Canadian soil, no doubt his grave would long ere this have been suitably honoured by Canada, the young but giant nation for which his victory paved the way on this continent. But after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Wolfe's remains were sent to England. In one of the last days of October the cannon on the ramparts of Quebec answered the salute of the fleet which had set sail for England. On board the *Royal William* were the embalmed remains of General Wolfe. On Saturday, November 17, 1759, the following entry appears in "The Gentleman's Magazine," Vol. XXIX: "This day the remains of General Wolfe were landed at Portsmouth from on board the *Royal William* man-of-war; during the solemnity minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, and all the honours that could be paid to the memory of a gallant officer were paid on this occasion," (p. 548). On Tuesday, Nov. 20, this entry appears: "The corpse of General Wolfe was interred in a private manner in the family vault at Greenwich." The entries in the burial register of the parish church of St. Alfege at Greenwich for November, 1759, include many of the very poor, a foundling, a "found drowned," and the illustrious General.

The potter's child, the poor, the foundling, the found drowned, and the illustrious General who secured the greatest of continents for the Anglo-Saxon race, pass off the stage, their exits recorded without distinction. Gray's "Elegy" had been written but eight years before the fall of Quebec, and Wolfe loved its mellow music and sweet, but sad philosophy. How strikingly is the teaching of the "Elegy," enforced by a page from the register of St. Alfege!

"Let not ambition mock their native toil,
  Their humble joys and destiny obscure
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile
  The short and simple annals of the poor.

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
  And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
Alike await the inevitable hour
  The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The words of Parkman and the Abbé Casgrain tell us little or nothing of the ceremonies which took place on the arrival of the remains of General Wolfe in England. A pretty full record is contained in the Annual *Register* for 1759, Vol. 2, commencing at page 282. The story is reproduced in W. A. Russell's History of England, 1783:—

"1759. "The remains of that gallant hero General Wolfe were deposited in the country for the defence of which he had lost his life. On Sunday, Nov. 17th, at seven o'clock in the morning, H.M.S. *Royal William,* (in which his corpse was brought from Quebec to Portsmouth) fired two signal guns for the removal of his remains. At eight o'clock the body was lowered out of the ship into a twelve-oared barge, towed by two twelve-oared barges, and attended by twelve others to the bottom of the point in a train of silent, gloomy pomp, suitable to the melancholy occasion.

"Minute-guns were fired from the ships at Spithead from the time of the body leaving the ship to its being landed at Portsmouth, which was one hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company on the train at Portsmouth, marched from the parade there to the bottom of the point, to receive the remains. At nine the body was landed and put into a hearse, attended by a mourning coach (both sent from London), and proceeded through the garrison. The colours of the fort were struck half-flag-staff; the bells were muffled, and rung in solemn concert with the march; minute guns were fired on the platform, from the entrance of the corpse to the close of the procession; the company of the train led the van with their arms reversed; the corpse followed, and the invalid regiments followed the hearse, their arms reversed. They conducted the body to the Landport gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded through them on the way to London. Many thousands of people assembled on this occasion, nothing was to be heard but murmuring broken accents in praise of the dead hero. On the 20th, at night, his remains were deposited in the burial place belonging to his family at Greenwich."

On the day following the burial at Greenwich, the House of Commons decided to erect a suitable monument at Westminster Abbey. This is the monument referred to by the Abbé Casgrain in the opening extract. It was executed by Wilton in marble, and represents the dying hero sinking into the arms of a grenadier. His right hand presses his mortal wound. The grenadier is pointing out the Goddess of Fame hovering overhead. In the background is a mourning Highlander. The descriptive part of the design is, in the main, in accordance with the story as generally accepted.

Parkman portrays the feeling of jubilation which swept over England on hearing the news of Wolfe's great victory. England blazed with bonfires. In one spot alone, he adds, all was dark and silent; for here a widowed mother mourned for a loving and devoted son, and the people forbore to profane her grief with the clamour of their rejoicings. The place referred to was Blackheath, which just adjoins Greenwich Road. It was from Blackheath, while preparing to sail to America, that Wolfe wrote these words to his mother: "All I hope is that I may be ready at all times to meet that fate which no one can avoid, and to die with grace and honour when my hour has come, whether it be soon or late."

In an address to the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, in 1906 I could not refrain from saying:—"In contemplating the grave of Wolfe at the old parish church of St. Alfege, in Greenwich, one cannot but recall his marvellous bravery and the brilliant generalship that planned the attact at the Anse du Foulon, which led to the capture of Quebec, and the cession of this continent to the Anglo-Saxon race. The first impulse is to look around for some great monument, some vast mausoleum, or in default of that some memorial window, brass or mural tablet—some indication of the love and sympathy, or at least some sign of gratitude on the part of the Canadian people. But there is nothing. The dark and mysterious crypt is there, as is the iron grating, which is pointed to as indicating the exact position of the tomb. These are cold and forbidding enough. But that is all. Canada has done nothing. Had it not been for the efforts of a private person—Mr. Frederick Fountain, a church warden—by whom a beautiful memorial window was placed in the church in 1896, nearly a century and a half after the fall of Quebec, there would be nothing at St. Alfege to indicate that to Wolfe the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent almost owes its existence. Do not the people of Canada owe it to themselves, as well as to the memory of the great Wolfe, to take some action which will fittingly express their appreciation of the achievement of the illustrious hero to whom this country owes so much?"

Since then much has occurred to awaken British and Canadian interest in General Wolfe. It was felt that the ceremonial of the Champlain Tercentenary should find some echo at Wolfe's grave. On the 20th of November, 1908, a mural tablet with a medallion of General Wolfe, crowned with the words of his favourite Elegy, "A heart once pregnant with celestial fire," was unveiled over the spot beneath which he lies buried, and a plate was placed in the floor immediately over the burial vault. The tablet was paid for by public subscriptions taken up in the church at the unveiling service and from the officers of the army. At Bath a tablet has been placed by the mayor and corporation on the house once occupied by Wolfe; and at Westerham a memorial window has been erected by public subscription in the parish church. The subject is "The Nativity," treated according to the designs of the late Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. A bronze statue will be unveiled at Westerham next January, in the vicinity of the house where General Wolfe was born, and at Quebec House, where he spent a portion of his life. On the stained glass window at Greenwich is a representation of St. George and the dragon surrounded by an enumeration of some of the engagements in which General Wolf became famous—Dettingen, Fontenoy, Falkirk, Culloden, Maestricht, Rochefort—and underneath is the famous line from Grey's Elegy, recited by Wolfe the night before the battle on the Plains of Abraham, "The paths of Glory lead but to the Grave," and the hero's last words, "I thank God and die contented." There is no tablet or memorial of any kind at Macartney House, Blackheath, where he bade good-bye to his mother on leaving for America.

Great Britain has become thoroughly aroused to the necessity of actively perpetuating the memory and achievements of General Wolfe, but much remains to be done in which Canada should have a share, and I beg once more to press the suggestion which I have urged since 1906 that this country, which owes its existence to General Wolfe, should seek out the place of honour, at the graveside itself, and there erect a monument worthy of this country, and of its first and greatest hero.

SENATOR J. P. B. CASGRAIN.

THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORTATION IN CANADA.

An Address delivered by Senator J. P. B. Casgrain, C.E., before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Nov. 16th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

A lesson from history:—All nations that have become great have realized the paramount importance of easy means of communications.

The famous Roman roads, over which the edicts of the mighty Imperial Senate were carried to the uttermost parts of Europe and Asia, still bear witness to the greatness of the Roman Empire. And what Rome accomplished two thousand years ago, England is, at this very day, doing in India, in Nigeria and in East Africa, where a celebrated railway engineer has recently been appointed Governor—I refer to my distinguished compatriot, Sir Percy Girouard—for the express purpose of developing that great country by means of railways.

England's Example.—I am sure that you will agree with me, that we, in Canada, cannot do better than follow England's example in that respect. Indeed, I cannot conceive a more efficacious way of uniting more closely the various provinces of our magnificent Dominion than by perfecting our system of inter-communication. Nor could we leave a more valuable legacy to our children than these great transportation lines whose far-reaching importance not only to Canada, but to the whole Empire, can not be over-estimated.

I need hardly apologize, therefore, for having selected this subject for my address to-day.

Major Stephens' Address on "Waterways."—I understand that you recently had the privilege of listening to a very instructive address on our "Waterways," by my friend, Major Stephens, President of the Montreal Harbour Board. I know how much thought and study he has given to this subject and how completely he has mastered it and, therefore, do not propose to deal with it to-day, but will confine my remarks to railways. I will only mention with regard to the widening and deepening of the Welland Canal, that if it should be decided to deepen that canal to a depth of 20 feet, the other canals should, likewise, be deepened and widened as far as the ocean port of Montreal. It would obviously be a very short-sighted policy to deepen one canal and leave the others as they are, for just as the strength of a chain depends on the resistance of its weakest link, so the measure of usefulness of a canal or of a series of canals may be gauged by the draft at the shallowest point.

A Tribute to the Grand Trunk.—Now, to come to my subject, let me preface my remarks by saying a word for the old Grand Trunk. It has always seemed to me that hardly enough credit has been given to the pioneers of that great undertaking, some of whom were officers of the Royal Engineers then stationed in Canada, the first President being Sir John Tyler, a Captain in that distinguished Corps.

It is well to remember that when the Grand Trunk was commenced, railway construction was still in its infancy. The high explosives and powerful mechanical appliances that now so greatly facilitate excavation work, had not yet come into use and moreover the transport difficulties, owing to the entire absence of railways, were very great, and rendered the task of the engineers even more difficult than it is to-day.

Great credit is therefore due to them for having successfully overcome all these obstacles and also for having induced the British investor to furnish the capital necessary for the construction of the Grand Trunk.

It has been in operation for so many years that one is perhaps apt to forget what a prominent part it has played in the development of Eastern Canada, how many flourishing centres it has created in this Province and how much it has done for this beautiful city.

Now, Gentlemen, what the Grand Trunk has done for Southern Ontario, the Grand Trunk Pacific will accomplish for Northern Ontario and the West, as we shall see presently if the brief time at my disposal will allow.

Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann's Wonderful Work.—But first, let me congratulate Toronto on possessing two such enterprising citizens as Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann, whose marvellous success as railway builders is, I believe, without a parallel in the world. It was stated at a banquet given four years ago, in honour of Mr. Mackenzie, that 10 years before, there was no Canadian Northern Railway, while on that day, it could boast of having 3,650 miles in operation.

Do you realize, Gentlemen, that this means that, during 10 years, Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann have not only built, but equipped one mile of railway every day. No one better than an engineer can appreciate the extraordinary skill and administrative ability required to accomplish such a gigantic undertaking and I am proud, and we have all reason to be proud, that Canada has been the scene of this great enterprise.

The Canadian Pacific Railway.—The Grand Trunk was followed by the Canadian Pacific Railway. I firmly believe that nothing has done more to advertise Canada or contributed more powerfully to create that splendid era of prosperity which we now enjoy, than the construction of the C.P.R. and its administration by men of such extraordinary ability as Sir William Van Horne and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy.

Saving British Columbia to Canada.—Not only has the C.P.R. benefited Quebec and Ontario, it has also virtually created Manitoba, has brought Saskatchewan and Alberta into existence and has saved British Columbia from becoming part and parcel of the United States. That last statement may be rather a surprise to some present; it came to my knowledge last August, when I was in Victoria and had the good fortune to meet the Hon. Mr. Beaven, who was for some years Prime Minister of British Columbia. He told me that, had it not been for the construction of the C.P.R., the whole of the Pacific coast from Mexico to Alaska would have become United States territory. Delegates, who were in favour of joining the United States, came to Ottawa and asked for the construction of a waggon road to British Columbia.

They knew full well that such a concession would be unacceptable to the province and hoped that it would lead to annexation. But that far-seeing old statesmen, Sir John A. Macdonald was too shrewd for them. "A waggon road," said he. "Why! I'll build you a railroad."

C.P.R. no Longer a Modern Road.—The Canadian Pacific, however, is no longer a modern road. Thirty-five years have elapsed since the first sod was turned on the banks of the Kaministiquia River. I remember the occasion very well, for I was one of the engineers.

The principles which govern the location of railways have since undergone a complete change.

In those early days, the primary consideration was the cost of constructing the line, while the subsequent cost of operating it was hardly considered. Hence it was that engineers endeavoured to follow the surface of the ground as much as possible and made use of sharp curves and very steep gradients to avoid deep cuts and large fills.

Change in Principles of Locating Railways.—But with increased experience came knowledge, and to-day the predominant consideration, and rightly so, in the location of a railroad, is the cost of operation.

It was this consideration that led the C.P.R. to re-build their line from Port Arthur to Winnipeg and from Winnipeg to Calgary. The old road may be still seen as one travels in the train, sometimes on one side of the line and sometimes on the other.

Steep Gradients in the Rockies.—But, unfortunately, the sections of the road where the heaviest gradients are met with, namely, over the Rockies and the Selkirks, and along the north shore of Lake Superior, and from North Bay to Lake Superior, cannot be re-built. Thus, near Field, B.C., there was a grade of 4.4, equivalent to 220 feet to the mile, and it required several locomotives to push up a small freight train and three or four for an ordinary passenger train.

By a very clever piece of engineering, viz., a double spiral tunnel, this grade has now been reduced to 2.2, or

116 feet to the mile. It is still a very steep grade, but there was no object in further reducing it, as equally steep grades are met with elsewhere on the C.P.R. and especially in the Selkirks.

Altitude of C.P.R. Summit.—Remember, that the C.P.R. crosses the Rockies at a height of 5,320 feet above sea-level and that after climbing over this summit, it descends to 2,500 feet to cross the Columbia River and then rises again to 4,361 feet to get over the Selkirks.

The Grand Trunk Pacific.—Let me say at once that the Grand Trunk Pacific is being built according to a higher standard than any road of the same length has been built by in any part of the world. This is not an exaggerated statement, for, according to the reports of the best engineers, it is an absolute fact that no road of equal length has ever been constructed with such easy gradients and flat curves.

Distances of the G.T.P.—I will speak about the gradients, presently, but first, let me show you how much nearer Quebec will become to Winnipeg by the new route. The distance from Quebec to Winnipeg by the C.P.R. is 1,585 miles, by the Transcontinental 1,350 miles, *i.e.*, 235 miles less. Now, from Montreal to Winnipeg by the C.P.R. the distance is 1,422 miles, so that Quebec will thus actually become 70 miles nearer to Winnipeg than Montreal is to-day by the Canadian Pacific Ry.

Again, from Cochrane Junction, where the Temiskaming Northern Ontario Ry. joins the Transcontinental, the distance to Toronto or Quebec is practically the same. The mileage, therefore, from Toronto or Quebec to Winnipeg by the Transcontinental will be about equal.

Gradients on the G.T.P. and Transcontinental.—But far the most important feature of the Transcontinental is the extraordinary easiness of its gradients.

Cochrane Junction, as you probably know, is situated on a magnificent tableland or plateau at an elevation of some 1,100 to 1,200 feet above sea level. This great tableland, which gradually descends to 800 feet at Winnipeg, extends over an area of about 200 miles in Quebec and some 400 miles in Ontario and, over this immense tract of country, the Transcontinental scarcely encounters any gradients.

The soil is a rich clay, 15 to 20 feet in depth and as fertile as Manitoba, where everyone knows good wheat can be grown.

From Winnipeg to Edmonton, a distance of 783 miles, and from Edmonton to Wolfe River 125 miles, the road is very fine and goes over the prairie with very easy grades and very few curves.

From Wolfe River, where the prairie ends, the so-called Mountain Section commences. It scarcely deserves its name, however, for it contains no gradients steeper than 6-10 of one per cent., that is 32 feet to the mile, thus enabling one locomotive to pull the heaviest train to the summit.

The summit is reached with this easy gradient at an elevation of 3,708 feet.

Altitude of the Summit on the G.T.P.—How low the altitude of this summit is, may be realized when one considers that it is only 280 feet higher than the city of Calgary, which, as you know, is on the prairie.

After the summit is crossed, the gradients continue to be easy for 27 miles, and then comes 21 miles with a grade of one per cent. along the banks of the Fraser River.

Coal and Water Power.—I may mention, *"en passant,"* that the best of coal is being mined on both sides of the line for miles and that there is also a splendid water power here which could be utilized at very little expense to electrify this part of the road.

Farming Lands.—From the Fraser River to Fort George, there is excellent farming land, which was practically all taken up before the advent of the railway.

From Hazleton, 180 miles from Prince Rupert, the road is practically level.

I travelled there last August for some 50 miles. There is also rich farming land along the banks of the Skeena River.

Superiority of Transcontinental Over Other Routes.—The immense superiority of the Transcontinental over any other road, as a grain carrier, is due to the fact that a train can travel from the Yellowhead Pass to tide water at Quebec without encountering any adverse grades greater than four-tenths of one per cent., or 21 feet to the mile.

Mr. Charlton's Prophecy.—Some years ago, people thought it impossible to construct such a road. Yet there was one man who believed that it could and would be done. I refer to the late Mr. John Charlton, who, in a memorable speech delivered in Parliament, declared that the railways of the future would be built with such marvellously easy gradients as I have just mentioned. He is no longer amongst us, but his prediction has become a "fait accompli," and to-day it is possible for one locomotive to draw a train load of 2,200 tons from the West to tide-water at Quebec.

Now, gentlemen, let us see what such a train load is equivalent to when it consists of grain.

50,000 Bushels of Grain Drawn by One Locomotive.—If from this gross load of 2,200, a third be deducted for the weight of the cars, a liberal allowance, there remains a net load of 1,466 tons, which, at 33 bushels to the ton is equivalent to 50,000 bushels. In other words, one locomotive can to-day, on the Transcontinental, draw 50,000 bushels of grain from the foot of the Rockies to tide-water on the Atlantic. On no other railway system in the world can one locomotive, however powerful, draw such a heavy load. Not even on the New York Central or the Pennsylvania road; except on certain sections and not for any great distance.

7,000 Feet of Adverse Grades between Pacific and Atlantic.—It is a remarkable fact that the total ascent to the summit of the Rockies and the adverse grades added together from tide-water on the Pacific to tide-water on the Atlantic, only amount to 7,000 feet, while on the C.P.R. the total ascent between the same points amounts to 23,000 feet.

Cheap Transportation an Essential Factor for Prosperity.—Now, let me enunciate a mere truism: Material wealth, in its ultimate analysis, is but the conversion of the raw material of nature into useful commodities and their transportation from the place where they are produced to the place where they are wanted. It is obvious, therefore, that easy means of transportation are an indispensable requirement for the attainment of material wealth.

Example of the United States.—This is well exemplified in the United States, where the marvellous expansion which has taken place in every department of human industry is undoubtedly due to the fact that our neighbours have better grasped the paramount importance of transportation facilities and more fully developed them than any other nation.

Nearly One-Half the Railway Mileage of the World in the United States.—Let me quote some figures to bear out my statement. There are, to-day, some 500,000 miles of railway in the world, and it is a remarkable fact that half of this enormous mileage is owned by the United States and Canada.

I need hardly tell you which has the bigger half. We have 25,000 miles and the balance, 225,000 miles, nearly enough to go ten times around the world, is in the United States.

Railways Unable to Cope with Trade of the United States.—Yet, this gigantic network of railways is unable to cope with our neighbours' ever-increasing volume of trade, and they, as you doubtless remember, suffered some years ago from a congestion of traffic which considerably affected the business of the country.

Mr. James J. Hill's Declaration.—It was on that occasion that that famous railway man, James J. Hill, a Canadian, by the way, with that clearness and conciseness of expression which characterize his utterances, declared that the business of the country was growing 10 times faster than the transportation facilities, that, with the present standard gauge of 4 ft. 8½ ins., locomotives had reached their maximum limit, both as to dimension and power, that, in fact, this gauge was too narrow to meet the increasing demands of trade and that the only solution was to return, if possible, to the old broad gauge.

An Impracticable Suggestion.—But after due consideration, his suggestion was found to be impracticable, owing to the prohibitive cost of renewing or strengthening all the bridges and viaducts and of enlarging all the tunnels and of converting the whole of the rolling stock to the broad gauge.

Mr. Hill's Waterway Scheme.—Mr. Hill, however, had an alternative proposal. He suggested that a greater use should be made of those means of transportation which nature herself has provided. His idea was to deepen the Mississippi as far as St. Louis and to make the railways tributaries of that great river. Then to improve the navigation of the Illinois River and connect it with the Chicago Canal. The latter is primarily intended for sewage purposes, but as it is 20 feet deep and 200 feet wide, it appears to be well adapted for navigation, and there is no reason why it should not be used for that purpose.

Mr. Hill was of opinion that with these waterways as auxiliaries, the railways would be able to cope with the traffic and that the problem of transportation would be satisfactorily solved, at least for a generation to come.

An Interview with President Roosevelt.—I happened to be in Washington when that question was being discussed, and in the course of an interview with Mr. Roosevelt, our conversation soon turned to that topic.

The President, pointing to a terrestrial globe, said there were three main outlets for North America: the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence and the Hudson's Bay route, and turning to me, he added: "You, in Canada, have the Hudson's Bay route." I gently reminded him that we considered we still had some claim on the St. Lawrence route. I did not, however, think it wise to tell him what I thought of the Hudson's Bay route nor to refer to a speech I had made on that subject in the Senate.

The Hudson's Bay Route.—But I have no objection to telling you that I neither share the enthusiasm nor the sanguine expectations of the advocates of this northern route.

The navigation of the Bay, an immense sheet of water, 900 miles from north to south and 600 from east to west, is indeed possible for three months of the year, but, unfortunately, between the Bay and the high seas, there are 500 miles of straits, the navigation of which is rendered extremely dangerous, owing to the constant presence of icebergs.

Icebergs in the Straits.—Dr. McCrea, who accompanied Earl Grey during his trip to the north, was forced to admit, in the course of a speech made in Montreal, that they had met icebergs in the Straits in August. As a matter of fact, they are to be found there during every month of the year, and thus constitute a constant and most serious and dangerous obstacle to navigation.

Perilous Navigation.—It sometimes happens, when the wind is blowing in an opposite direction to the currents which are very swift in the Strait, that these enormous icebergs, some of them tower 60, 70 or 100 feet above the water-line while their depth below the surface may be roughly estimated at 10 times their height, carried by the currents, collide with the surface ice driven by the wind at five or six miles an hour, and crash through it like huge battleships. Woe to any ship that should lie in its path; nothing could save her. I may add that the surface ice itself is a source of grave danger, for it is quite thick enough to damage a ship and yet it is not high enough to be visible in thick or foggy weather or at night.

The Voyages of the "Neptune."—I fear that the voyages of the "Neptune" may have led people to rather under-estimate the perils of these Straits.

A Specially Built Ship.—The "Neptune," as you may be aware, was specially built by the Government and designed to withstand ice pressure. Its hulk is covered with 4 ins. of British oak and lined with 4 ins. of greenhart, and the space between them is packed with rock salt. The bow is of solid timber, 8 ft. thick, and is sheeted with iron 1 in. thick. Moreover, the bulk is shaped like a saucer, so that the effect of the lateral pressure of the ice is to raise it bodily out of the water.

No ordinarily constructed merchant vessel could therefore stand the pressure which the "Neptune" is designed to resist, and even were ships specially built for this route, they would have to be so heavily insured that the high premium would more than counter-balance any saving in distance.

Not a Route for Commerce.—I do not consider, therefore, that the Hudson's Bay route is a commercial possibility, but I am not opposed to the construction of a light railway to Churchill or Nelson to give access to the Bay.

Access to Bay by Rail.—I do not think, however, that our knowledge of the nature of the country around the Bay would justify any large expenditure of public money in the construction of a first-class road.

A French Writer's Views.—A French writer, employed by his Government to report on the resources and trade of Canada, and who has just completed his tenth annual inspection, recently declared, in an interview in Montreal, that Great Britain was always ahead of every other nation in looking out for new fields for her commerce and industry, and that she had been the first to realize the marvellous development of Japan and the awakening of China, which have given rise to an enormous and growing trade on the Pacific, and consequently across the North American Continent.

England's Foresight.—He added that England had, therefore, shown great foresight and wisdom in spending, or rather investing, her money to build or improve the Canadian transcontinental routes. They provide her with an invaluable link with the Orient, and enable her to land her wares, or if need be, her troops, on the shores of the Pacific nine days after their departure from Great Britain.

Canada's Service to the Empire.—I need not dwell, gentlemen, upon the strategical importance of these transcontinental lines. It is obvious that in the event of complications in the Pacific, or of trouble in India, they would be of inestimable value to Great Britain.

Gentlemen, let us remember that it was the whole of Canada that rendered this splendid service to the Empire, and let us hope that should new responsibilities arise, the whole of Canada will likewise not hesitate to do its duty.

CANADA FROM EAST TO WEST.

An Address by the Right Rev. J. P. DuMoulin, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Niagara, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Nov. 24th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

When one intends to speak of Canada from East to West he naturally begins with the East—with those fine old Maritime Provinces that some of you know so well. There, as you all know, a number of independent and noble men came and settled, notwithstanding the difficulties and disadvantages at the time, and laid firm and sure the foundation of those ancient and prosperous Provinces. These Provinces are well worth a visit and of intelligent attention from all who call themselves Canadians. No books, no writings, no lectures, no speeches, can convey to the Canadian the reality and greatness of the country that he is privileged to call his own. In those old provinces you have the great mills for the manufacture and exportation of steel—the very ore that is necessary and the facilities for the making and transporting of that precious metal, bringing wealth and prosperity to so many. Then there is the great fish industry and the pulpwood, and the fruit industry of the great Annapolis valley, which I regret to say last summer has not been very successful. These provinces are very beautiful, there is a mixture of land and water that must charm the eyes of everyone who has a taste and desire for the beautiful. But these are comparatively small considerations when weighed against the character of the people of these Maritime Provinces. They have yielded to Canada as a whole some of her proudest and noblest sons—at the Bar, on the Bench, in the medical profession, in abstract sciences, in the matter of the study of the country itself, and in political science. We have drawn from those Maritime Provinces in the days gone by, and particularly in the days of Confederation and those that immediately followed, as you know well, some of the proudest in this land.

When you have done your duty to these Maritime Provinces, have visited them and seen with your own eyes some of their capabilities; then you proceed westward—that you can do, as you well know, by two great routes. One was made by the Supreme Power that made all things—the magnificent St. Lawrence, that, rolling down from the great mountain regions, mingles with the vast and mighty ocean—that splendid river, as if a mighty giant had put his hand to the work, and had cloven through the whole continent to make a great waterway.

Then, as you know, there is the Intercolonial Railway, the product of the greatest man who ever governed Canada. We hear a great deal said rather disparagingly about the Intercolonial, but it is one of the most beautiful land routes over which you can travel from the East to the West. It pursues its way carefully along the bank of the great St. Lawrence. Its scenery is charming, and it opens up a country that is full of interest. By either of these great routes you reach beautiful Quebec. There it stands as you come up the noble river—the Gibraltar of Canada—lifting its proud head in defiance of any enemies who might have the temerity to approach it either by land or water. There is the splendid Canadian fortress, and surrounding it and lying below it is one of the most interesting cities to be found in the length and breadth of Canada. There you hear the French tongue, there you see the French customs that date so far back; all this mingled together with our English influence and providing a bridge that must ever prove beneficial to our deepest and best interests.

From that to the next great city, Montreal, you pass up the waterway or either of the two great railroads, and there we come to one of the most beautiful of our Canadian cities, lying between Mount Royal as it lifts its proud head, and the noble river, as it sweeps by with rushing current—the beautiful city of Montreal. It is distinguished for many things—for its natural beauty and because of its great harbour standing at the head of navigation, and because there two races have learned to work and live together in harmony and prosperity. 400,000 people find in Montreal their home and their business, and their happy and fraternal life. There is a refinement, a politeness, yea, there is an elegance and grace about the poorest French-Canadian and his children to be found in Montreal that I am sorry to say our Western portions of the land are largely destitute of. The French-Canadian by his origin and traditions which he has faithfully conserved, is a gentleman, though he may be a poor man. He always greets you with his native courtesy, and I have felt during my experience in the fifteen years I lived in Montreal and during the summers in which I have visited the watering places along the St. Lawrence, the greatest admiration within myself for the life and character of the French-Canadian. He is simple in his habits, generous and kind, obedient to those who are over him either in civil or religious matters; he is a quiet citizen; he is very fond of a little "boodle" (when he can get it), and it is looked upon as one of his virtues which he sometimes pursues to an unwholesome extent; he is called up and rebuked for it, goes away and soon begins to do it again. This is one of his amiable failings.

The great lesson that one learns from the beautiful city of Montreal is that it is possible in this great Empire, to which it is our proud privilege to belong, so to fuse the foreign, and even strange and dissimilar races that they will be filled with common patriotism and common loyalty, and that they will lift up their eyes and see the old Union Jack waving over their cities, because they know it is to them and to any country where it unfurls itself, a guarantee of liberty, progress and enlightenment.

Let us waive an affectionate farewell, now, as we pass on our way up the great waterway, through the great lakes, or by one of the great railroads to this proud city of Toronto. Here we have an approach to the population of Montreal—some 300,000 people, and here you will observe one distinguishing characteristic. Montreal is a city, I must say, slow, conservative in its movements and in its business methods. You will see this by the appearance of the people on the streets. They move slowly and methodically; there is nothing like jostling. You see a great deal more of that here. Being nearer the American border you have acquired the habit of rush—quick lunches, quick movements, everything done in that rapid style which is not at all conducive to a pleasant life and longevity. It would be poor taste, indeed, for me—though I was once happy to be a citizen here—to say any more about Toronto; you all know her, her progress, her great prospects—which are actually unlimited.

We must take the train and get on to Owen Sound and then proceed by the beautiful waterway to Sault Ste. Marie. There I intend to halt for a moment and describe the independent and intelligent business men. Wonders have been wrought in that place during the last five years; tremendous industrial achievements which you see there as witness to their energy and enterprising efforts; the great canals both on the Canadian and American side of the river, providing transportation into Lake Superior. There we have the "Ocean of Canada" magnificent, powerful, deep and cold, which can be as boisterous and as unpleasant as the great ocean itself, but in those palatial steamers provided by the several companies you cross Lake Superior, unless the weather be very adverse indeed, with not only comfort but in luxury and enjoyment. A day and a night bring you across that great inland ocean to where the mighty giant rock solemnly reposes in his everlasting and undisturbed slumber, and there you come to the Twin Cities that are the "Golden Gate of the West" destined soon to be fused into one; that will be a vast and great city; that will be the Chicago of Canada. You take your leave of this place, so full of promise and so full of coming wealth and present prosperity, and you make your way all day through a barren and deserted wilderness, and the chief lesson you learn is one of patience as you go along hoping that it will come to a speedy conclusion.

It would seem to tax one's patience to the extreme to pass through it, but you very soon come to the outskirts of Winnipeg, to the pleasant lakes, and to the picturesque country that introduces you to the great prairie city; and now when you roll into the station you stand in a city that no language can portray as regards its present prosperity and its future and certain prospects. It is one of the most wonderful cities in the world. Some of us sitting here to-day (myself among the number) are old enough to look back to the time when five to six hundred people, Indians and half-breeds, and a Hudson's Bay factor or two, had made their dwelling where the proud city of Winnipeg now stands. Then you roll into the station that has 150 miles of track and, if you stand there long enough, you will see out of the numerous trains that like serpents wend their winding way into that great station come people from all parts of the world, old and new—from old France and Italy and Latin races of Europe, the Teutonic, and from this part of Canada, and from the United States, and what they call "Dagoes," all pouring themselves into this vast country, and entering the station with the one fixed idea that they have come to make this country their future home. It is to them the "Land of Promise," they have often heard about it, the more intelligent of them have read about it, and studied it, and they know its capabilities, and know what they can do as men. That means resolution and power and if, firmly, they plant their feet there with determination they will go forward in an honest, upright, and industrious course. Everything we have been taught to hold most sacred and true must vanish from our sight and fade from our grasp unless the prosperity of this country is realized to the honest, true and enterprising men who are making a beginning there.

It is a wonderful sight to enter that railway station and watch the trains as they empty themselves out and the people that they bring. That leads one to stretch his imagination. What is going to be the future of that bright boy, that strong, stalwart young man, that man of graver life and more advanced years, of those children, of that toiling woman with a couple of them on her back? As you look at these people you see the material that is going to make the future of the great Northwest. Now when you enter the station at Winnipeg after your long ride through the wilderness you naturally desire a little rest, and I know not any place where you can enjoy it with greater luxury than in the same city of Winnipeg. There is one of the most beautiful hotels there to be found in any city. It is furnished not only for the comfort of its guests, but with downright luxury. Now that you are done with the station, enjoyed a rest and had a good meal at the hotel, you brace yourself up and want to take a walk or a ride through some of the beautiful streets in this new Queen City of the West, standing there at the entrance of the prairie country. It is now a place, or it was last year, when I was there, of 140,000 people. I suppose it is now at least 150,000, and at that ratio it will go on to an illimitable and incalculable extent. There you will see one thing that will contrast very strongly with the beautiful city we now live and enjoy ourselves in—Toronto. You have no Yonge and King streets crossing at right angles, so narrow and congested as to be dangerous to life and limb.

Winnipeg stands, as you krow, at the entrance of the prairie country. I have heard people say, "Oh, I was so tired of that prairie, a day and a night going through it, and it was so monotonous." I wonder how anybody could express himself or herself in such a way as that. To me it was intensely interesting. There you enter upon a journey of 36 hours through that most wonderful country. Magnificent is not too great a word to describe it when you think of its extent and fruitfulness. There is nothing else like it in all the world. A thousand miles in one direction and four hundred in any other; as far as any man can compute 30 million acres are there; and how the human eye could lack interest in going through such a country to me is simply inexplicable. When you think that this is not merely a grass wilderness, but that there is the most arable and fruitful land to be found in the wide, wide world! When our fathers came here to Ontario how different for them. What confronted the first settlers here? Great forests, and they were compelled to spend all their available capital in buying horses and such implements as were to be obtained in those days. First they had to attack the underbrush, then cut huge trees down, and get the oxen and chains and drag them out of the way, then get up some buildings between the stumps, and break up little patches of land, cast in the seed in rather a downhearted way, and come back in the fall to reap a very poor, miserable return indeed, and this for many long, long years before there was anything like a clearing. But here in this magnificent, boundless country, as far as the eye can reach, just as when you stand on the deck of an ocean steamer and look out you see nothing but water, so here as you look from the railway window, as far as the eye can pierce, there is nothing but the beautiful golden grain.

This is the land that the Government gives 160 acres of for $10. They won't sell it to speculators or land grabbers, but give it to settlers for $10, if they will only settle there and work it for three years. The settler there finds himself in a veritable paradise compared to that of our fathers who settled in Ontario in the early days. He has only to put in the plow and turn up the richest loam to be found on the earth, scatter his seed generously and go back in the fall and reap 25 bushels to the acre, or 30, and in some places it has run to 40 bushels of the finest wheat ever sown and reaped and gathered in. Wheat enough for the whole Empire, and as you go along you see elevators springing up near every settlement and every city. I stayed with a son of mine for 10 days in the city of Moosejaw, a place of some 12,000 people—it may be 20,000 now! One thing that struck me forcibly was the multiplicity of railway tracks at Moosejaw—the rush of business—10 or 12, all doing a thriving business; and the tremendous elevators of enormous capacity for storing up the grain brought in by the farmers; who put it in, get their receipts, which are as good as money, as they take them to the bank and get gold. This is the sort of thing that is going on all through this prairie country. We cannot realize it—nobody can until they go and see it for themselves.

Now we have passed over the prairie and arrive at Calgary, standing as a sentinel at the entrance to the Rockies. Calgary is a curious city. You meet a lot of young fellows there who have studied at Eton and Oxford; their fathers have given them 50 pounds and they have made their way as far as Calgary, they soon spend their 50 pounds and become "remittance men." They are not all like this. I met a very polite, attractive young man when I entered a railway office with my son, and I asked him who that extraordinary young fellow was. He told me he had only been there a week. When he came he looked around for employment, and the Mayor of the place told him there was nothing to do except a job outside on the streets with a pick. He got a barrow and a pick and started in. But the people said he was too good for that work and the Mayor spoke to the local railway manager, and he gave him work in the office. Gentlemen, that young man will rise until he reaches the pinnacle. That is the kind of man we want to settle the Northwest with. Calgary is a very remarkable place indeed, but we must leave it, and soon we find ourselves at Banff, and I would like to say much about this place, but time warns me that I must leave you to draw conclusions for yourselves, or get the information from the maps. It is a magnificent spot, a favourite with tourists, but we did not enjoy the company of some of the settlers—mosquitos; monstrous big fellows.

Now the Rockies—here language would fail even an Edmund Burke, a Charles James Fox, the Earl of Chatham, Cicero, or Demosthenes. What man of them could do justice to the glories of the Rockies? You slide out of Calgary and you have a dozen Switzerlands as you look from one mountain peak to another, as they lift their snow-capped peaks to the heavens, but it becomes monotonous as you look all day long at those mountains. There is the great geyser, the rushing, roaring rivers, and you begin to think what an insignificant creature man is; but as you roll over a tremendous bridge spanning an awful chasm that makes you shrink back from the car window with horror, you think, well, man is not so small after all and you realize that he has conquered and overcome almost insurmountable obstacles and has placed a railway through such places as you now behold. Then you come to the shoulder of the mountain, and the great engine pants like a living thing as it slowly but steadily rolls the train to the summit, and then descends to the depths on the other side. Then comes the great glacier that covers, we are told, 200 square miles, a vast field of ice and snow, pouring down here and there as it melts, in mighty cataracts. But you have now passed the Selkirks and are in a beautiful country and a beautiful climate.

You soon enter the busy station of Vancouver and gaze out on the beautiful harbour, the "Liverpool of Canada." There you see ships from India, Australia, China, and Japan,there you hear a babel of tongues, see many strange men in their Oriental costumes as they walk about in their curious way. Here you have a city of a hundred thousand people, or more, beautiful buildings, broad streets, and such parks! Stanlev Park is one of the most beautiful places on the continent, rich in natural scenery; there in that park you see giant cedars, one of them measuring 47 feet around and 18 feet in diameter, giant trees of beauty that nature has lavishly supplied. Would that we could dwell at Vancouver, but must now take one of the most beautiful salt-water trips that a person could wish for, as we take steamer for the city of Victoria. What a magnificent city! What a salubrious climate! What English refinement! What a place to reside in! When the day comes that I can work no more I should like nothing better than to be able to spend the rest of my days in Victoria on the Pacific. The Provincial Parliament Buildings in Victoria are a sight in themselves worth going some distance to see, second only to those in Ottawa, and a very striking fact it is that they were erected for less than a million dollars! It shows that those who have the handling of the money in the public treasury there do not indulge in that which appears all too common to-day—graft.

Now let us go from the West to the East again, nearer home, and consider the future position of Canada. We have the proudest inheritance to be found in the wide world. We in this city of Toronto hear a good deal about Imperial Federation, and if it ever comes to pass, and come to pass I believe it will, this Dominion of Canada is going to be the most important and dominant factor in that Federation, because she is nearest to the head and heart and centre of the Empire, and because she is the mightiest and nearest to the English centre of any of the Dominions beyond the seas. I am glad they have ceased to call us colonies, and now we look for a more glorious future as the most important part of the Empire outside of Great Britain herself.

EMPIRE AND DEMOCRACY.

An Address delivered by Mr. Arthur Hawkes before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Dec. 1, 1910,

Mr. President, my Lord Bishop, and Gentlemen:

Two or three years ago I was outside the front of my house looking at some flowers, and a bearded little man came up the walk and said, "Beg pawdon, sir, do you want any gardening done?" "No." "Well, you have a garden here, don't you? Do you want anything done to it?" he said. I said, "Yes, we have a garden, but my wife and I make a hobby of looking after these few flowers. Are you a gardener, too?" "Yes, sir, but I will do anything you like; any odd jobs about the 'ouse. Perhaps you want something done in the fall? Well, I can come any time you like and do any jobs you've got." "Do you live around here?" "Yes, I live on Hoak." "Live on what?" "Hi live on Hoak avenue, across there. My name's Hunt, Halfred Hunt." I said, "Yes, well, I will send for you. You are from England, I suppose, aren't you?" "Yes, sir, 'ow did you know that?" That man came to Canada five years ago, and when he had been here a year and a half he went home and then came back again, because he found his second home better than the first.

The Englishman who drops his h's and adds them where they should not be, generally does it because of ignorance, but the ignorant Englishman is not the only one who does some despite to the English language. I remember when I was a very young reporter I heard a great English noble—a Liberal at that—going through a speech in which he was continually dropping his g's and never stopping to pick them up. This is an affectation of the Englishman. I want to mention how the members of the peerage drop their g's, because in a few weeks we shall have returned to us George Tate Blackstock and Colonel Denison's brigade, and they will give us to life and to the manner born examples of how to drop the g's. Oh, yes! the Prime Minister drops his g's; this is an acquired habit with him. I used to hear Mr. Asquith when he did not drop his g's, and now he does; he may soon drop his majority. But you find, as a rule, that the Englishman in this country can only open his mouth to put his foot in it. It sounds ridiculous.

There is something in this country that we have got that England has not, and we are minus a few things that England has got that she might well get rid of. Those of us who do know England, therefore, very seldom speak about it, and when I talk about knowing England, I mean England, not Pall Mall, not the Privy Council, but rural England, the average man, the average woman and the average child. There are a lot of people who come to this country and they think they know it when they have been to lunch at the Toronto Club, and been here and to Vancouver in Sir Thomas Shaughnessy's or Dan Mann's private car. They do not know anything about the country. We think we are a mighty clever lot of people in this city, but we are not Canada. The man who is making Canada is the fellow who is coming down from the other side of the Saskatchewan with a yoke of cattle and a load of wheat, getting off his waggon to keep himself warm! wondering if the frozen ground will break his waggon axle; not those of us who are sitting up nights figuring out how much toll we can take off the load of wheat before it reaches Liverpool.

If there are Englishmen here who think they know England, they will agree with me that often enough when one of them goes back to some village, one who left it years ago for Canada or the United States, people who knew him before he went away marvel at the change in him. There is an intelligence and quality about him he never had in the Old Land. They do not quite know how it is, but we know it is because he has got some things that Canada has got and he has got rid of some things that he took to Canada. Did you ever meet an ex-farm labourer on the prairie whose accent tells you where he came from, even if he mixes it with a little Ottawa slang? You will find that this man a few years ago was perhaps eking out a miserable existence in Devonshire. You will find that he has got a homestead of 160 acres, partly under crop, and an illimitable future before him. Did you ever consider that where that man came from he bore the badge of servility which no man need bear in this great country. But if this country has got any great contribution to make in the future of the Empire (and I am an Imperialist through and through and through) it is going to be made because we can show the Old Country that we can raise better men here than she can send us, and it is being done every day.

I had the great advantage this summer of travelling all the way between Bristol and the Rockies with a delegation of Bristol men. They were greatly impressed by the country. They were even impressed by the congestion of traffic at the corner of King and Yonge streets, Toronto, but they said with one consent that the thing that impressed them the most was the quality of the people, the quality of the people coming out of the factories, the wage-earners. They had been in our crowd at the Exhibition and they said there was not a city of five times the size of Toronto in the Old Country that could produce a crowd in any way that would compare in mind, body or estate with the people who come to the Toronto Exhibition. I say just so far as the Old Country can bring the people up to that level, just so far is it going to be a great delight for us to remain in partnership with it and see the Empire flourish and grow like a green bay tree.

And if I am right there are some considerations about the political situation in England about which I think we are all too apt to be blind occasionally; partly because of the natural limitations of human nature and partly because of our newspapers. They think we are Imperialists, but they are like the Irishman a few years ago whose two wives had preceded him to a better land, and when asked about directions for his own funeral, said, "Bury me betwixt the two of them, but let my head lean a little towards Bridget." I think we have a little of this in the election reports in *The Globe,* and I think equally unmistakeable evidence of partisanship in some of the other newspapers. I am rather sorry for this, because, as I have said before, if we have any contribution to make to the solidarity of the Empire it has got to be on somewhat different lines from what they are operating on in England.

And in that regard I would venture the advice (though there are two fools in the world—the one who gives advice and the one who takes it) not to be afraid of innovations that are proposed to be made in England. What is the case against the British mind and British man and British manufacturer in this country? It is this, that he thinks that everything should conform to his standard, whereas we know if he wants to succeed here, either as a citizen or as a seller of goods, he must adapt his methods to the conditions as he finds them. Do not accept partisan statements; investigate the conditions for yourselves. May I give you what I consider to be the infallible sign—the sign infallible—of the Britisher who has become a real Canadian. It is that he finds as he goes along a curious but wonderful detachment from the political controversies and party-cries of the Old Land. That detachment enables him—if he has any intelligence at all—to discriminate between the things, as I have said, which England has, which we have not, and the things which we have that England has not, but ought to have.

My brother wrote to me about three years ago and asked me, "What do you think about the Jarrow bye-election," and I said, "What do you think about Charlie Hyman leaving the Cabinet?" My sympathies are with both parties in England because I recognize what a vehement partisan is apt to forget, that whether a man is a Liberal, Tory, Radical or Socialist, our Empire produces men that cannot help but love their country. I will not be a party to writing down any man in the Empire a traitor until he takes arms against the Empire. Why? Because, when I consider the whole course of our history, whether political, social, or any other mere machinery that we use, I know perfectly well that the man who has the courage to stand up and be in the minority to-day is apt to prove to be in the majority next year. They viewed things around the British Empire as going to the everlasting bow-wows because the Reform Bill was going to be passed in 1832. I remember when a great many of our friends in Great Britain thought we were on the edge of destruction because the agricultural labourer was going to have a vote, but after he got a vote the Tory party remained in power seventeen years out of twenty following that measure.

(After a few observations on the Suffragette question, the speaker referred to the increasing influence of the Labour members of the House of Commons.)

Mr. President and gentlemen, the prosperity, the political prosperity, that is enjoyed by Great Britain and by us here, is the result of the British basis of legislation, the calling to the councils of the King those whose judgment has been proved of value to their country by the masses of the people. There is no going back on that question—not at all. Shall we mourn for the decay of the British House of Commons because the representatives of the toilers are therein, and go back to what are called the more glorious days of Gladstone? What were the more glorious days? Within living memory, representatives of boroughs were bought and sold even as the cure of souls was bought and sold in the market place—the days when classical quotations flourished in the House of Commons—those were the days when corruption was most rife. When the elder Pitt became Prime Minister he did so on the understanding that the Duke of Newcastle would have charge of the Secret Service—the corruption fund.

There is, I believe, a well authenticated instance on record of a Prime Minister who entered the House of Commons one night with his particular friend in the Cabinet, and was thus addressed by his friend: "Billy, I can't see the Speaker." "Can't you," said the Prime Minister, "I can see two!" Do you want to go back to those days? I will venture, Mr. President, to bring a witness as to assertions made about Labour representatives in the House of Commons. On the 14th of July, 1909, during the sitting of the British House of Commons, a certain nobleman—a real earl—charged a Labour member with being drunk, and a hub-bub arose and the Labour member resented it, and said he was not drunk. A withdrawal was called for, and during the delay the Labour member got very excited and called the man who had accused him of being drunk, "a liar." The Chairman asked for a withdrawal of that; the Labour member was angry and would not withdraw it, and the Chairman told him to leave the House. He left the House. Next day the Prime Minister moved that the incident be expunged from the records of the House. Mr. Asquith said: "A noble lord opposite made a most offensive and injurious imputation on the character and conduct of another honourable member. It must be taken that that imputation was wholly without foundation in fact, as the noble lord himself at a later stage the same night not only withdrew it, but apologized for having made it."

Mr. Arthur Balfour, ex-Prime Minister, seconded the resolution to have the record of this incident expunged from the Journal of the House, and said: "The right hon. gentleman has based his motion upon a most legitimate desire which he and the rest of the House have for making it absolutely clear, in the most explicit and formal way, that the charge originally levelled against the honourable member concerned, by my noble friend, is absolutely without foundation in fact. I was present all through the unfortunate episode, and everyone must deeply deplore that an unfounded charge should have been made. I desire to say that, in my opinion, the honourable gentlemen below the gangway (the Labour members) have frequently, and indeed generally, not merely obeyed the orders of the House, but have set an example which might well be followed in other parts of the House, an example of listening without interruption to arguments and appeals from which they profoundly dissent."

Mr. President, my object in taking this ground, which I knew would not be very palatable to some of my friends, is this, to show that while in other countries there have been violations, extreme measures, by those who have come up from what may honourably be called lower social conditions, yet, in the Mother of Parliaments, in the country where poverty is an appalling burden upon the people; where their physique is not what it used to be; in a country, the condition of which may well bleed the heart of any native-born Canadian who goes and explores the worst side of it; the Labour party—extreme, if you like, in their views—won that tribute from the greatest of aristocrats in the House of Commons.

The very nature of the British Constitution allows the expansion of labour and encourages the man who works with his hands to feel that he is also a citizen of the great Empire; and when this man comes to us here, what do we find? We do not find that he has any revilings against the country he has left—not at all. We find that he feels he has escaped from harder conditions of life, and come into a more genial life, full of hope and promise. And it is our blessed privilege in this country to have growing up amongst us men of this stamp—men who feel that the Old Country belongs to them, and that this country belongs to them—a feeling which cannot help but prove beneficial to our mutual relations.

I am not one of those afraid of new innovations—who think there is a danger of the traditions and customs of the past being overthrown. Countries like ours do not go headlong to the devil. Every now and then we are told there is danger, but all along there has been progress in the social conditions of the people, and when the immigrant comes to us here he finds that some of the things which have been to his disadvantage in the Old Land do not exist here. He feels that he has got a share in this great, big, new and wide country. It is in that there lies some hope for those who are left behind him and for that country to which he has come. Mr. President, I venture to look forward to the day when in that Old Country, and here, the words of the great Puritan, Milton, will be splendidly true (and it is the only piece of poetry I know):

"Methinks I see in my mind, a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam."

THE HON. WM. RENWICK RIDDELL.

THE BRITISH MONARCHY.

An Address by Mr. Justice W. R. Riddell of the High Court of Justice, Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Dec. 13, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

George the Fifth, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. The British Constitution, of which ours is a copy, has been of very gradual growth—it was not made in a day or a year and is not the production of one man or of one generation of men.

Like most, if not all, institutions which have come down from ancient times, it bears traces of the past, and much still remains of antiquity, though some may have disappeared in course of the evolution. But the course of evolution has been continuous and there are things new as well as things old to be found in it. I am not sure that something of this evolution is not to be learned from the name of the Sovereign. The Supreme Executive of the United Kingdom is vested in a single individual, the King. And in like manner in the Dominion of Canada, and in the province of Ontario, the King is the Supreme Executive, and he is the Sovereign Lord.

It is my purpose to take up in their order the names and titles by which our King is officially known and to consider briefly what is meant by them, and where they come from. The name "George" was not used by any British Sovereign until the Hanoverian dynasty came in with George I., the Elector of Hanover in 1714, who succeeded to the throne on the death without issue of Queen Anne. "George" is itself of Greek origin and means nothing more or less than "Farmer." The manner in which the name became a favourite in Hanover would require a long story to tell, which, interesting as it is, would lead us too far away.

His Majesty is said to be King "by the Grace of God." The Kings in ancient Germany—from or through which land our ancestors came—were believed to be descended from the gods, just as we read of the belief of the ancient Greeks and Peruvians as to their kings, and the ruler of Japan is still considered to be descended from heaven. There can be no doubt, that in all ages there has been a sacred character attached to the occupant of the throne—"such divinity doth hedge a king." This in England, at least, led to the idea that the touch of the Sovereign was effective in healing certain disorders—we are told that Dr. Samuel Johnson was as a child, "touched" by Queen Anne, and it is certain that the practice of touching for the "King's evil" as it was called, continued till the end of her reign. The loyal Jacobites believed that the virtue existed only in the King who was such by divine right, and therefore the Hanoverian who was King only by the law made by man did not possess it. I am not aware of any authoritative instance of "touching" bv George I., or his successors, although the office for such a ceremony continued to be printed in the Prayer Book till 1719.

There have, ever since the flight of James II., in 1688, been many, and there are still some who look upon that King and his descendants as the true monarchs of England. Some still on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. decorate with flowers his statue at Trafalgar Square; and some acknowledge only a Continental princess as their Queen, Marie Therese, wife of Louis of Bavaria. It is said that some ultra-Royalists show their contempt for the present Royal family by affixing their postage stamps upside down. That is carrying the thought that a King of England is King by the Grace of God to its legitimate conclusion—but, in fact, there is no right to the Crown, *jure divine,* by divine right, except in a broad sense. Every one may be considered to be what and where he is by the grace of God—Omnipotent Providence is over all, and nothing happens without the permission, *gratia,* of heaven. When William of Germany, during the present year, raised a storm by asserting without qualification or limit his right divine, he had to still the tempest by saying he only meant that in his position he was an instrument in the hand of God. In that broad sense, our King is King by the Grace of

God—but in that sense only. The King of England is not above the law; he reigns by virtue of law, and that law may be changed by Parliament, including, of course, the reigning Sovereign.

The Witan, or Great Council, in Saxon times assert-the right to elect a king, and if the Government was not conducted by him for the benefit of the people, they asserted the right to depose him. There is at least one instance of the deposition of a King of England in Saxon times—Ethelred II., the Unready, in 1013—and there were almost certainly two other instances at an earlier date of the deposition of Kings of Northumbria, three of the Kings of the West Saxons, and at least two in Wessex. There are very many instances of election of kings not in the hereditary succession, although, of course, preference would be given to the family of the dead King.

After the battle of Hastings, in 1066, which an old book calls a victory over the House of Harold, and not over the nation collectively (I pass over the episode of the Danish Kings), the Conqueror William saw to it that his title was confirmed by the Great Council—and so with each of his successors when there was any conflict or fear of conflict. If we pay no regard to the interlude (curious in many respects) of the reign of King Stephen, the throne descended in a hereditary and fairly regular line until the time of Richard II., the last of the Plantagenets. He, in 1399, signed a document absolving his subjects from their allegiance and renouncing every claim to the Crown. He did this much for the same reason that a traveller renounces his claim to his own purse when it is demanded by a band of robbers in overwhelming force. But times were changed from Ethelred's period. Parliament, which was the successor of the Witan, did not, as the Witan had done three centuries before, depose the monarch without at least his nominal consent, but the document signed by Richard was read to Parliament and thereupon he was declared to be no longer King. Then came what was in fact the exercise of power given by military strength, but in form an assertion of hereditary right by Henry of Lancaster. His plea was unanimously accepted, and he was led to the throne by the two archbishops.

There had been a somewhat, but not precisely, similar occurrence 72 years before, when Edward II. was forced to abdicate in favour of his son. Parliament had drawn up articles setting out his defects and crimes; and advanced these as good and sufficient reasons for his deposition. But this abdication was in favour of his own son and Heir-Apparent, and therefore not quite the same as the eventful proceedings of 1399.

Then the Crown again descended from father to son until the weak and unfortunate Henry VI. In his reign the Wars of the Roses were waged. On the victory of the York faction, the White Rose, in 1459, Edward of York was not elected King as he had hoped; but Henry remained King with Edward declared by Parliament Protector, Prince of Wales and heir to the Crown. This arrangement did not suit Margaret, the noble wife of Henry, and the war began again, resulting in the election in 1461 of Edward as King by a meeting of notables of the York faction, who called their meeting a Parliament. The fighting contined for some five years until at length Henry was captured by his enemies. Even this did not break Margaret's spirits, but she kept up the struggle for her husband and her son. In 1470 she succeeded. Henry was released and reinstated as King, but almost immediately after the fatal fight at Tewksbury he died by the hand of an assassin on the very day of Edward's triumphal entry into London.

The York dynasty did not last long. Henry of Richmond conquered Richard III. at Bosworth Field in 1485 and claimed the Crown both by hereditary right and by the judgment of God as shown on the field of battle. A Parliament was called by him and a statute passed declaring that the inheritance of the Crown of England was in "our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Seventh, and in the heirs of his body." He shortly thereafter married Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., who was without doubt entitled to the throne if effect were given to the hereditary theory, and thereby, in the opinion of our old conservative writers, gained by much his best title to the Crown.

His son succeeded him—the man of many wives—and now there was trouble. About the middle of his reign he claimed that his first marriage to Katharine of Arragon was no marriage at all, as she had been previously married to his brother Arthur, and in consequence his eldest surviving child Mary, who was Katharine's daughter, was not legitimate. He married Anne Boleyn, who bore him a daughter, Elizabeth. After the birth of Elizabeth, but before the King had got tired of Anne Boleyn, an Act was passed entailing the Crown on the King and his sons, in default of sons to Lady Elizabeth and her children, and excluding Mary altogether. But Anne Boleyn fell out of favor, was accused and convicted of treason and was beheaded. The King married Jane Seymour, and a new Act was passed cutting out Elizabeth also. This statute shows the almost absolute power of Henry—there is a provision that if the King should leave no issue by Jane Seymour or any future wife, he might settle the Crown as he desired by Letters Patent or by will. But this was changed again after the birth of a son to Jane Seymour (this son became Edward VI.) and she had died; and afterwards Henry, having got rid of two more Queens, had married the sixth, Katharine Parr. There was another Act of Parliament limiting the Crown to Edward and his issue, then to Mary and hers and then to Elizabeth and hers. This statute legitimized both Mary and Elizabeth.

Henry did make a will under the powers given him by the former statute, by which he left the Crown to Edward, then to Mary, then to Elizabeth and the heirs of their body respectively, then to the descendants of his youngest sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, but did not include the descendants of his eldest sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland. But the will was made under the authority of an Act of Parliament and had no validity in itself without the support of the statute.

When Edward VI. was about to die, he was induced to make a will leaving the Crown to Lady Jane Grey and her heirs. This will being without authority from Parliament was not effective; and Lady Jane Grey suffered death with her chief supporters for the treason thereby committed in claiming the Crown for her under that illegal will. Mary succeeded and then Elizabeth under the will of their father.

After the death of Elizabeth (1603) the question was raised whether the will of Henry VIII. carried the throne to the grandson of the Duchess of Suffolk, but there was doubt as to the legitimacy of the claimant (if he can be so called), the son of the Earl of Hereford and Lady Katharine Grey, and he had no army or powerful backers to help him, so he gave way to James VI. of Scotland, the great-grandson of Henry VII. James who became James I. of England had his title to the throne recognized by Parliament in the first Act of his reign. But his original title came from the statute passed 118 years before, whereby his ancestor, Henry VII., and the heirs of his body were declared entitled to the Crown.

In the reign of Charles II., grandson of this James, an attempt was made to pass an Act excluding James, Duke of York, the King's brother, from the succession; but the attempt failed. No one had or has any doubt that had such an Act passed and been assented to by the King, it would have been effective.

The Duke of York came to the throne under the name of James II.; and unhappy troubles occurred between him and his subjects which resulted in his son-in-law, William of Orange, being invited to come to England. He did so, and James fled. William at once summoned the peers and as many of the members of the last Parliament of Charles II. as were in town and some of the citizens, and by their advice, he summoned the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and certain officers for a Convention. The Convention met—in everything but the fact that the summons was issued after the King had fled—the same as a Parliament. That Convention (13th February, 1689) declared that James had abdicated, and the throne was thereby vacant. It was resolved that William and his wife Mary "be and be declared to be King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging." This was with the term that the heirs of the body of Mary should succeed, failing them Anne and the heirs of her body, and failing them the heirs of the body of William. Mary, the wife of William of Orange, and Anne, were daughters of James II. In this proceeding we have another change.

When Ethelred the Unready displeased his people, the Witan deposed him without asking or receiving his consent; when Richard II. was to be forced off the throne, the form was gone through of requiring him to sign a renunciation of his regal position. When James II. (being mindful of his father's fate) fled from England to save his life. the Convention called it an abdication There can be no doubt that nothing was further from the mind of James than to abdicate his throne—and, indeed, the Convention left open for everybody to interpret "abdicate" as a voluntary or an involuntary retirement from the throne as he wished.

When eleven years thereafter William was dying and Mary was dead without issue, and Anne's many children had died—she had had 17 altogether and the longest lived attained only 12 years of age—it became necessary to fix the succession anew. So in the year 1701 was passed the Act of Settlement, by which in case of the death of Anne and William without issue, the Crown was settled on Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, and her lawful heirs. The Electress Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, sister of Charles I., and consequently she was cousin of Anne's father, James II. She was not at all next in succession to Anne—Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, Anne's aunt, daughter of Charles I., had left descendants, and Sophia had many older brothers and sisters who had left children. But she was the nearest to the direct line who was a Protestant; and that, as the Parliament considered, justified their choice. King James II. died about the same time, leaving his son, James Francis, claimant to the Crown in his stead. When Anne died in 1714 it might well have been that the Stuart cause was uppermost; but as it turned out, the Act of Succession was allowed to have its full effect. Sophia was dead; but her son, the Elector of Hanover, without opposition, became King as

George I. The attempts in 1715 and 1745 of the son, James Francis, and grandson, Charles Edward, of James II. to wrest the Crown from George I. and his successor were unsuccessful. James Francis died in 1766; Charles Edward in 1788, and his brother Henry died in 1805—the last legitimate descendant of James II.

Our King George V. is a lineal descendant of King George 1—and thus we have traced the statutory Parliamentary nature of the title to the throne.

While there is no room in our law and constitution for the doctrine of divine right, it must not be supposed that our King does not descend from the Kings of old. Through his ancestress Sophia, he descends from the first Stuart King of England; through him from Henry VII., the first Tudor and Elizabeth of York, his wife; through her to Edward III., the greatest of the Plantagenets; through him to Henry II., the first of them; through Henry II. to his grandfather, Henry I., and his wife, Mathilda; through Henry I. to his father, the Conqueror; and through Mathilda to Edmund Ironside and Alfred and Egbert, the first King of all England, and Cerdic, who led his Saxons in 495 into Hampshire, and 24 years later became the first King of the West Saxons. He was the founder of the greatest kingdom of the Heptarchy, and is the progenitor of our Royal line.

So far I have been speaking of England, but it is not of England that George V. is King; he is King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the United Kingdom not kingdoms.

Until the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the two countries, England and Scotland, had co-existed, and speaking generally, as independent kingdoms, separate in language, law and manners. Even Wales had been separate from England until included by the "ruthless King," Edward I., about 1278; and had no right to send representatives to Parliament until the reign of Henry VIII., two hundred and sixty years thereafter.

Nor did England and Scotland cease to be separate kingdoms upon the accession of the Scottish King to the English throne—each kingdom had its own Parliament, peerage and Privy Council, although they both had the same King. It was not until 1707 that the two kingdoms coalesced by the Act of Union, 6 Anne, c. 11; and the name of the new kingdom thus formed was "Great Britain."

And our King traces his descent from the ancient Kings of Scotland also. We have seen how he is descended from James I. of England, who was also James VI. of Scotland. James was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, and the descendant of the earlier Kings called James and of the Roberts, of whom the most glorious was Robert Bruce, and he from Duncan I., whose ancestry goes back to the abyss of time.

So, too, our King is descended from the long line of princes or chiefs of Wales, through Henry VII., Henry Tudor, himself of Welsh descent and name.

Ireland was practically subdued in the reigns of Henry II. and John. Parliaments were established early in the fourteenth century for Ireland quite distinct from the English Parliaments, and summoned by the King's Deputy. For long Ireland had its own House of Commons and House of Lords, but always the same King as England. In 1801 an Act was passed whereby the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland became one, known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This has continued ever since, although there have been many movements looking to a dissolution of this United Kingdom, and the reinstatement on the old footing or on some analogous basis, of the former kingdom of Ireland.

Such then is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The British Dominions became British in many ways —by discovery, by conquest, by cession, etc. The Isle of Man was formerly a feudatory kingdom subject to Norway, then to England, then to Scotland, then to England again; now it is vested in the British Crown. The Channel Islands—Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, etc.—were part of Normandy; and when William of Normandy became King of England they were united to England. When Normandy was lost to the Kings of England, the Islands remained.

Where an unoccupied country—or what is the same thing in the eyes of civilized people, a country occupied by savages only—is discovered by the people of a civilized country and occupied by them, such country is supposed thereafter to belong to the country of the discoverers and occupants. In this way the Eastern States of what is now the United States became British and so remained until the American Revolution. Some of the West Indian Islands remain so still. Newfoundland, too, and some parts of what is now Canada were claimed in the same way; but all doubt was set at rest by the conquest of Canada in 1759-1760. All Canada was ceded by France in 1763.

Australia is claimed by right of discovery and occupation; so is New Zealand and many of the isles of the sea. South Africa in part the same way, in part by cession, and in part by conquest; India by conquest.

The British Dominions beyond the seas are found in all parts of the globe, in all latitudes and longitudes, under the burning sun of the tropics and the chill blast of the Arctic regions; and their peoples are white and black and yellow and red, and speak English and Gaelic and Erse and French and German and Italian and Spanish and every known tongue, civilized or barbarous—the oldest of dialects based upon Sanskrit, and the newest vernacular. On the flag of Britain the sun never sets—her morning drum-beat circles the earth and no one may keep far away from some sign of her power. Over all that territory and all these peoples is George V. King, and it is to the King that we owe allegiance—the King is the great unifier of the British.

The King is a part of the Canadian Parliament and of the Ontario Legislature; and statutes passed by these bodies are as truly sovereign acts as though passed by the Imperial Parliament. Some talk has been heard as to our relations with the United Kingdom. I cannot see any advantage to be gained by raising questions of no practical moment. It does seem to me, however, that no harm can be done by carefully keeping in mind the truth that we are not the subjects of the people of the United Kingdom, but the subjects of the King of whom they are also subjects. We bear to them not the relation of inferiors but equals. We are not their bondsmen, but their brethren. We think the union of the United Kingdom and the Dominion of Canada under the same Monarch as indi soluble as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland—yes, as the Union of England and Scotland, or of England and Wales. That should not blind our eyes to the fact that it is a union under the same Crown and not a subject race under a superior one. The English immigrant who thought that Canadians deserved no credit for ministering to his wants because "don't we own you?" was as deficient in constitutional knowledge as he was lacking in manners.

For centuries the Kings of England claimed to be Kings of France; and though the last vestige of possessions in France disappeared in the reign of Queen Mary Tudor in 1558, the title of King of France was still used —it was abandoned only during the Hanover period. And so that fiction (which indeed produced friction with France) was got rid of.

When Luther was startling the whole Christian world with his bold theses on the Catholic Church and her beliefs, Henry VIII. wrote (or had written for him) a defence of the doctrines attacked. This much pleased the Pope of the time, Leo X., and he bestowed upon Henry by bull the title "Fidei Defensor" (Defender of the Faith); and commanded all Christians so to address him. Henry was then, or thought he was, a devout Catholic; but his views changed. Those who do not believe in him say the change was brought about by the beauty of Anne Boleyn. Whether this be so or not, the fact is that, desiring to marry Anne Boleyn, he wished to obtain a divorce from his wife, Katharine of Arragon. The Popes had long established their authority to grant divorces and had granted several to reigning monarchs for public reasons. But the Pope declined to grant Henry his request. Whether this was the reason or not, the King procured Acts of Parliament which separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome and made the King himself supreme head on earth, under God, of the Church of England. But though Henrv separated himself from the spiritual dominion of the Pope, he continued to use the title given him for defence of the Pope's doctrines. And so have all his successors, Protestant as well as Catholic. I do not know that any more curious circumstance can be cited than this—and we scarcely know how to characterize it—perhaps as loyal subjects the best thing we can do is to let it alone and say nothing about it.

It was but the other day, the first of January, 1877, that Queen Victoria was proclaimed "Empress of India." The title has little or no constitutional significance; it was, it is understood, assumed for its effect upon the Indian people, although some still have a suspicion that it was intended to show that the British Sovereign was not in any sense inferior to the Emperors of Germany, Austria or Russia. It is impossible with the time at my disposal to discuss its real bearing.

But what memories of heroic valour and equally heroic suffering are awakened by these words—memories of Timour and Aurungzeb, Mogul and Mahratta, Vasco da Gama, Clive and Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Malcolm, Hardinge and Napier and Gough, Outram and Nicholson and Havelock and Colin Campbell—but memories also of the Black Hole of Calcutta, of the massacres of Patna and Cabul and Cawnpore. Upon this it is wholly impossible for me with the time at my disposal even to touch. India, the most populous of all the British possessions, has the longest history, and that history will well repay perusal. I do not, however, dwell upon that gorgeous past.

I have now given a sermon on the text supplied by the titles of our Sovereign; and I trust I have shown that all these titles are full of interest for a British subject—a thousand times more might have been said, but this must suffice for this time.

And the man, himself, aside from his titles—what is he? For long descent and noble ancestry, exalted position and dignified function, do not necessarily make a man to be admired.

King George the Fifth was and is a good son; obedient without servility; a good husband devoted to a good and devoted wife; a good father to frank and sturdy children. In all the domestic relations without reproach, he is the idol of his own; friend and servant alike know what to expect from him—kindness, courtesy and consideration. Conscious of his own position, he never uses it to humiliate another, while never allowing undue familiarity to degrade it. A man among men, making no claim to the halo of the saint, he has not more but less than the usual failings of our common humanity. As a King he has already shown what is to be expected of him. No monarch could know better than he the constitutional limitations of the King; and it is to be expected that he will faithfully observe them. But within the limits set for him, he has been already able to cause a cessation, at least for the time, it may be for ever, of the bitterest political controversy the old land has seen for eighty years. The conference suggested—indeed forced—by him of the leaders of the parties may not be fruitful of successful solutions of the difficulties which now abound, but it has at least given time for all parties to think and exactly to determine their position. And that is an enormous gain. In the meantime there is peace.

We can pray that he may be ultimately successful in allaying all storms, and in destroying all causes for dissension and bitterness. He will if he can; and knowing the anxious care with which he is observing his Dominions and the honest efforts he is making for the peace and prosperity of the Mother Land, with which is bound up our own peace and prosperity, we Canadians all fervently join in the prayer,

God Save the King.

ENGLAND'S GREATEST NEEDS.

An Address by Major W. H. Edwards, lately of the British Army in South Africa and Egypt, before the Empire Club of Canada on Dec. 22, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I am here as a lover of England—and proud of my country—yet at the same time I am here as a critic and, I hope, a friendly critic of some of England's institutions, and of the trend of thought prevailing there to-day. We are suffering in Britain, I will not say from a decay of patriotism, but from what might be described as a slumberous condition of patriotism to-day. We are also suffering from a slumberous Imperialism—a loss of the Imperialistic sentiment by which the Empire was founded, and by which alone the Empire can subsist.

Now, in England, if one describes oneself as an Imperialist he is often met with considerable hostility and counter-charged with being a Jingo and a militarist for attempting to take out of the sordid arena of party politics such questions as those of National Defence, and the relationship of England to her over-seas Dominions, to her colonies and dependencies, and that most important of questions, as to whether we shall pursue the policy of Free Trade or have Tariff Reform. To attempt to take any of these matters out of the political arena, is to be at once charged with self-seeking motives. Now the reason is, that the trend of thought in England to-day is leaning towards what has been termed the "policy of drift," and it is against this policy of drift in regard to these most important questions that I and others have been speaking, talking, and trying to induce individual Englishmen to arouse themselves from the apathy which is so apparent at the present time regarding those responsibilities to the Empire which they have almost forgotten.

The reason for this condition of things in England is not far to seek. It is not amiss to ascribe it to the evils that always surround party politics in the Government. In days gone by we had two great historic parties in the House of Commons. We had the Liberal Party and we had the Conservative Party—both driving, or thinking they were, toward one end for the benefit of Nation and Empire. Although their course was divergent, both were inspired by British patriotism and when England, or Great Britain, or the Empire was in danger they united against the common foe—that spirit, Gentlemen, is not abroad to-day, for we have the evolution or devolution, whichever you like to call it, of party politics. We have got not only these two historic parties in the House of Commons but we have several subsidiary parties who claim they hold the fate of Government in the hollow of their hand. I always liken the members of these subsidiary parties to a character well known to readers of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"—The Man with the Muck Rake.

We have among them the Socialist party. I am not going to condemn all the Socialists. We have in England some Christian Socialists who are idealists, but whose views are not practicable. The great majority of Socialists in England, if you listen to their addresses in Hyde Park and other places, are no more concerned with the welfare of the Empire than they are with the inhabitants of Mars. Now the Socialist party appear to be looking for something by which they can destroy or uproot the foundation of the Christian faith and strike the 8th Commandment from the Decalogue, or they are looking for something by which they can annihilate the capitalists and by so doing lay hands on the accumulated results of industry and commerce and enterprise. And these men boast to you that they hold the fate of the Government in the hollow of their hand. Then we have the Labour Party, inspired altogether by selfish motives, workingmen through their leaders objecting, and daring to try and reverse what is known as the Osborne Judgment, which takes its name from the man who had the courage to express his convictions regarding the principles of the Labour Party. Well, gentlemen, the Labour Party in the House of Commons to-day in seeking the support of the majority of the members of the House have no regard for the judgment given out by the highest legal authorities in the land, that no man a member of Trade Unions shall be compelled to support a Parliamentary representative with whose views he is not in accord; yet these men tell you they would be compelled to support the Socialists, whose claim is that they hold the fate of the Government in the hollow of their hand.

Then we have another party who certainly have more justification for their demands, because they are always preaching open hostility to English interests—that is the Irish Nationalist party; who are actuated by the same principles as their late leader, Mr. Parnell announced on one occasion. He said: "I have taken off my coat to this work, and will not put it on again until I have severed the last link that holds Ireland to England." Can anyone blame a man like myself if he take these words exactly as they are written? There is no other construction to be put upon them except that the policy of the Irish Nationalists is more than simply to have their own Parliament in Dublin. A Parliament in Dublin may be attributed to a little national vanity. But there are other things behind it to claim our consideration. If they had a Parliament of their own there would be snug emoluments attached. There would be the Speaker of the House with an adequate salary, and a multitude of offices created for place-hangers, with the idea that "To the victors belong the spoils." These are men, members of that party, who fought against England and have always sided with England's enemies. One of their most prominent leaders in the north of England said, not in my hearing, but in the hearing of friends of mine: "I will bless any hand—be it white or black—that strikes at the power of England." So again you have these men who claim that they hold the Government's welfare in the hollow of their hand.

Now, gentlemen, with these subsidiary parties making these claims—and they may get greater strength, or, there may be more of them—they may multiply as parties for the Irish Nationalist party to-day is split into two factions, and we do not know how many more may be the result if we allow these elements to gain in the political life of our Representative Chamber. I maintain that the party system of Government should be abolished. And no man should be returned, in my opinion, to the British House of Commons because he is a henchman of any particular party. Personal fitness should be the claim to represent us in the councils of the nation, and that this is not impossible is shown by one of the largest and most progressive municipalities in the North of England, where they have a council chamber consisting of nearly 150 members. These people are most enlightened—it is a Lancashire constituency I am speaking of. One of their cities returned seven Conservative members to one Nationalist member to represent them in the House of Commons, yet they never have a great Conservative majority in municipal affairs.

Their policy is explained in the fact that of late years they have asked a Liberal Lord Mayor to take the chair and hold the high office of Chief Magistrate of the City; not because they were in sympathy with his political views but because they considered him the best citizen to represent their city irrespective of politics. Also this has been the rule for the last twenty years in that city that where a man, no matter what his politics, is considered fit to represent either commercial institutions, or residential sections, or one where the working classes live, and that man has proved faithful while in the Council Chamber, it has been the policy of the majority of Conservatives to say, we have no fault to find with him. This is the way they speak in Lancashire. There is an old adage, "What Lancashire thinks to-day, England will say to-morrow." And if this policy adopted by this municipality is followed by the rest of England, and spreads to the House of Commons, then we shall have an ideal system of government such as we have never known.

I will now show some anomalies (I hope we have no legal friends here who will take offence). The Prime Minister is a lawyer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a lawyer, the Secretary for Ireland is a lawyer, and the Secretary for the Colonies is a lawyer. This is one of the anomalies. We have got a barrister at the head of the Army. Another one in control of the Navy! Well, gentlemen, I believe you will agree with me the cup is getting pretty full. I do not criticize lawyers. I like to see our legal talent represented in the House of Commons, for I am proud of the high traditions of the English Bar; I am proud of the incorruptability of our Judges and I am proud of the way even-handed justice is administered all round, irrespective of person and whether rich or poor.

I may say that I do not agree and never will agree to a policy of placing a man like Mr. Haldane at the head of the Army, when a great organizer like Lord Kitchener is sent away to a distance so that his voice cannot be heard. I object to men like Mr. McKenna attempting to control the Navy without having either sea-legs or a sea-stomach. He made one trip on the Admiralty Yacht and has never been afloat since! Well, gentlemen, there is another anomaly, I am very sorry to say I have to use this criticism, but I do not like a man to sit in a chair who cries out "All's well" when he sees danger ahead. I rather admire the man who in order to express true ideals gives his fellow-countrymen warning when he thinks warning is needful and, although you may not agree with all I may say, I think I have ideal views of what England should be to-day as regards home government; and if I say anything that you do not agree with I hope at any rate you will give me credit for the sincerity of the motive which impels me to use these words.

There is another anomaly—we have in the British House of Commons a Board of Trade. That Board of Trade will always exist, I presume, because there is a snug emolument attached to the position of President of the Board of Trade and that is in the gift of the Government. Under the last Conservative Government the position was held not by a merchant prince or a great ship-owner, but was held by a country squire. I do not know who is President of the Board of Trade to-day—it does not matter, but I presume he draws his salary with commendable regularity. To you, gentlemen, in this country with your practical views (I am no stranger to Canada and I know the character of this people), a Board of Trade suggests to you a body who might protect and control, or do something to advance the commerce of the country; but when you look at how the Board is constituted in England you wonder how the position could be created. The Board is composed of Mr. Haldane who is a lawyer, the Premier, also a lawyer (I should have mentioned him first), Mr. Lloyd-George, a lawyer, and Mr. Birrell, who is a lawyer; and in order to make that constellation of business capacity perfectly complete, the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury is added to the list! One other thing which makes the situation very comical—and we thank our stars for it, is this—that the Board has never met.

There is one other subject of a very important nature, to which I will ask you to allow me to call your attention, and that is the question of National Defence. This question has been seriously considered, because in 1893 a Royal Commission was formed to inquire into the state of the national defences—that is outside the Navy—the land forces. That Commission had 84 sittings, and it examined no less than 160 witnesses. The Board was composed of the Duke of Norfolk—it was called the Norfolk Commission; the Duke of Richmond, Lord Derby, Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, Lord Granville, General Grove, who was 15 years in the War Office; Sir Ronald Knox, 15 years Adjutant-General, and others. Now what was the unanimous finding of this Commission after 84 meetings, and the examination of these 160 witnesses? This Commission was formed of men of every trend of thought—formed of men who thought our National defences were all right—formed of men who had the conviction that they were all wrong; but it was the unanimous finding that the principles which had been adopted, in the old-tried methods, were disastrous and foolish. The recommendations were:—

First, as far as possible, the whole able-bodied male population should be trained to arms.

Second, the training should be given in a period of continuous service—that does not mean service forever—it means that while they are in service it shall be continuous.

Third, the instruction should be given by a body of specially educated and highly-trained officers.

We believe that only by the adoption of these principles can the defence of the Empire be properly maintained. The Home Defence Army is not capable, in the absence of the whole or greater portion of the regular forces, to protect our country against an invasion; and to raise and maintain enough members for this duty it is incumbent upon every citizen, mentally and physically fit, to train for national defence. This is the full finding of that Commission. And we have other evidence that effective steps are necessary for the welfare and safety of Great Britain. We have these experts—and surely experts' views are worth something; we have Lord Roberts, Sir Wm. Nicholson, Lord Wolesley, Sir John French, who lately visited you in Canada, and Lord Esher. Now, these men all believe that we have insufficient military protection. In Mr. Haldane's Territorial scheme we are 40,000 men short of the complement. Then, in addition to this, Lord Esher has not only changed his former views, but had the courage of his convictions to write an article in one of the leading magazines, in which he stated that from his experience he had come to the conclusion that some other system rather than the volunteering system should be adopted in order to put the defence forces of the country, as against an invasion, in proper condition.

Now, gentlemen, you will notice that I have alluded to the fact that military service should be continuous. I know from experience the value of continuous as against spasmodic service. In other words, one month's training every day, and all the day, is worth six months if the men are allowed to come up for drill whenever it is their pleasure to do so. To illustrate this, suppose you introduce the same principle into your educational system—supposing you said this child must put in so many days' training at school, we do not care whether it is crowded into one or two months, or whether he comes one week and stays away the next, so that the lessons learned a week back would not be fresh in the memory. How could you educate a child with a system like that? If that applies to the ordinary education of the country, important to us in England at the present time, surely it also applies to the military education equally. Therefore I would lay stress upon the necessity of every male of military age and sound physique being enrolled in the defence of his country, and, after putting in several months' ground work, being called up for a fortnight or three weeks every year in order to refresh his memory.

Regarding this question there are other gaps in our hedges. Supposing you have an inefficient force, you might as well not have any at all. In my opinion it is good money thrown away unless you achieve the object for which the force is instituted. Supposing you have a chain with a weak link in a battleship, that weak link becomes the strongest part of the chain, and for all practical purposes you had better have no chain at all. Or, if you have a hedge to keep out the neighbours' cattle from your garden—it is a very strong hedge, but you leave a few gaps—you might just as well have no hedge at all. Therefore, I give you these comparisons to show that in our opinion at home we must have universal service, men capable of performing what they may be called upon to do, and what we are paying for. If these results are not attained we might as well have no military service at all. For the past 12 months I have been working in the interests of the National Service League, with Lord Roberts at its head. It has been my duty to go round through the country, in the middle counties and the southern counties, trying to warn my fellow-countrymen of this imminent peril. I have preached to the miners in Wales, and to the hardy fisherman on the north sea-coast, I have gone to Shropshire among the farmers, and into the East end of London to carry on this battle—where I did not always receive a cordial reception from the militant Socialists.

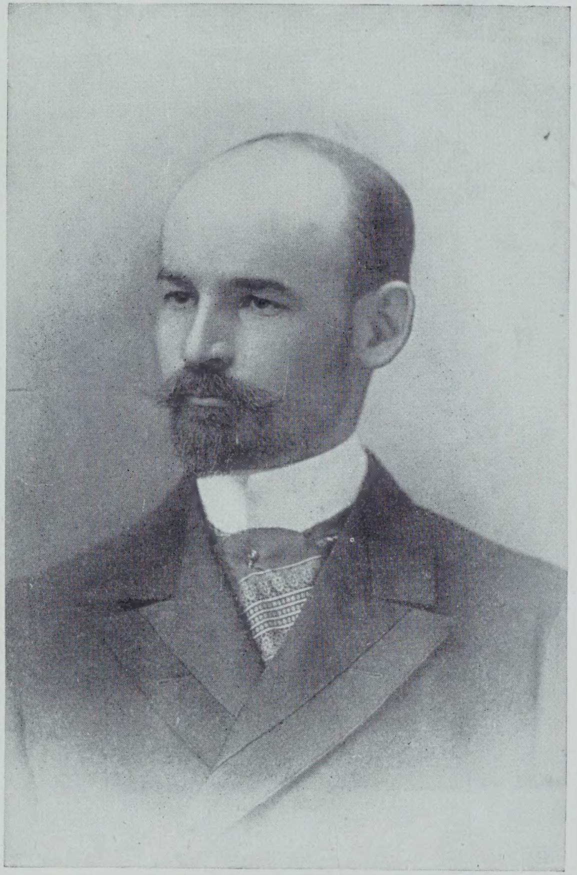
The idea is making progress, as evidenced by the fact that in 1902, when this scheme was first promulgated, we had only two members in the House of Commons; in 1906 we had 50; to-day there are 160, willing to do everything in their power to advance our claims. It is, gentlemen, not a new system. King Alfred the Great—

the man who founded the British Navy—drove back time after time the Danish invaders by the aid of men who had been trained to arms. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, with the population barely exceeding the population of London to-day, in the County of Devon there were no less than 2,600 men trained to arms, who were called to duty when the Armada threatened her shores. To-day, with a population of 44 million and ten times that number outside our country, looking to the British flag for sympathy, help and protection, we have fewer Territorials there than were in Devon in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

A hundred years ago, when we were engaged in the wars with Napoleon—the greatest soldier of that or any other age—we had a population of 15 million and only 10 million outside; to-day, as I find, we have 44 million in the United Kingdom, and over 400 million outside in our overseas Dominions, in our Colonies and Dependencies; yet we have fewer men available for the defence of the country to-day than we had 100 years ago, when the population was so much smaller! Now, gentlemen, this is not a state of things that can be allowed to remain. What England is suffering from to-day is slumbering patriotism, a disregard or unwillingness to face Imperial responsibility. England is suffering from what Lord Tennyson described when he said:

We sailed wherever ships could sail,
We founded many a mighty state.
Pray God, our greatness may not fail
Through craven fear of being great.

I feel, gentlemen, that if something is not done by the British people with regard to their responsibility for the defence of the country that the day may come when they will regret their short-sightedness.



MR. C. FREDERICK HAMILTON.

IMPERIAL NAVAL STRATEGY.

An Address by Captain C. Frederick Hamilton, Ottawa Correspondent of the Toronto News, before the Empire Club of Canada on January 14, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

You have been kind enough to invite me to address you on Imperial Naval Strategy. You will admit that the naval strategy of the British Empire is a very large question, much too large to be dealt with fully in a single address. All I can do is to try to throw out one or two leading ideas connected with the subject.

I am addressing the Empire Club, and I need make no apology for discussing the naval problem of the whole Empire. I shall, however, discuss that problem, as a Canadian citizen of the Empire; as a Canadian who is anxious that his country should pay her own way in the Empire; as a Canadian who desires to see his country bear her part in the Empire's affairs by developing her own individuality, by exercising those faculties and qualities which are her special characteristics, and by guarding against her own special dangers.

The first and most important fact connected with the strategy of the Empire is that in the course of the last decade it has undergone a revolution. It formerly was European; it now is world-wide. It formerly was pelagic; it now is oceanic. It formerly had to do with forces and countries which were remote from all parts of the Empire except the United Kingdom; it now has to do with forces and countries which in some cases are much closer to the self-governing Dominions than to the United Kingdom.

That is a very abstract way in which to put my case, and I hasten to express myself in concrete terms. Ten years ago the men who managed the foreign affairs of the British Empire had to consider two principal centres of armed force which were formidable and which might be unfriendly. Both were in Europe. One was France and the other was Russia. Each of these countries had a navy which was believed to be formidable, and they were in alliance. The German navy was negligible, and so were those of all the other countries in the world. The great danger which the men who managed the British Empire had to guard against was a naval war with one or both of these countries.

Now, with the exception of the Russian squadron at Port Arthur, the navies of these two powers were in Europe. You have only to look at the map of the world to see that, in a large way, Great Britain was interposed between these powers and the British Dominions overseas. Part of the Russian fleet was in the Black Sea and part of the French fleet in the Mediterranean; the British picketed these forces by keeping up a very powerful fleet in the Mediterranean. Part of the Russian forces were in the Baltic and part of the French forces were in ports like Cherbourg and Brest which front on the Atlantic; the Channel Squadron and the Home Fleet faced them. As a French statesman said a while ago, Great Britain had the fleets of Europe in a mouse-trap. It would have been very difficult, as a military operation, for a hostile fleet to have got past these watching fleets in the Atlantic to do anything which would seriously injure Canada, or South Africa, or Australia. Even the Russian fleet at Port Arthur was picketed by a British fleet at Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei. That is what I mean by saying that the problem then was pelagic. It had to do with comparatively confined seas rather than with vast oceans, with fighting in narrow waters rather than in great areas; with operations in the Mediterranean, the English Channel, the North Sea, instead of in the Atlantic or the Pacific.

The last ten years have seen this state of affairs disappear in a most wonderful manner. The Russian navy has virtually ceased to exist. The French navy has fallen behind; and in addition France has become the friend and almost the ally of the British Empire. But three new great centres of naval force have appeared; and only one of them is in Europe; the others are outside of Europe. The German navy, which was inconsiderable in 1900, in 1910 is exceedingly powerful. The same thing can be said of the American navy; it is a question for technical men to decide which is the stronger. Then, Japan has a strong and very efficient navy, and is increasing it as rapidly as she can. It is not my intention to inflict upon you tedious tables of statistics; it is enough to state that these navies are very strong indeed, and that they are pressing sharply on Great Britain. The Mother Country has to spend enormous sums in increasing her navy and even so her lead is being cut down.

Of itself this would be a remarkable change; three new powers, instead of the two old ones, now are the Empire's rivals in the matter of naval strength. But the most interesting thing has yet to be considered. The American navy has its base on the western shore of the North Atlantic Ocean. The Japanese navy has its base on islands in the Eastern part of the North Pacific. In a military sense the American navy is between Canada and Great Britain; I mean that the American fleet could place itself off the Canadian coastline by a shorter voyage than that taken by a British fleet from the Mother Country. As for the Japanese navy, Canada lies between Japan and Great Britain. Japan could place her fleet on the coast of British Columbia in fifteen days and on that of Australia in sixteen days. It would take Great Britain two months to place an equally large fleet at Hong Kong.

The more you reflect, the more you will realize that this is an absolutely new fact in the history of the British Empire. Hitherto, the only sea forces able to meddle seriously with it have been European sea forces, and such forces could not reach any important part of the Empire until they had fought or dodged the sea forces of the United Kingdom. Britain, as I said a moment ago, stood between all other sea-powers and the outer Empire. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa developed behind this shield which kept the storms of war aloof from them. But now, for the first time in our history, there are two very strong sea forces actually nearer to our Dominions than Great Britain is. The American fleet is nearer to our Atlantic coast line than the Royal Navy is. The Japanese fleet is nearer to our Pacific coast line than the Royal Navy is. The Japanese fleet is nearer to the Australian coast line than the Royal Navy is.

That is the first leading idea which I wish to lay before you. The British Empire as a naval power is facing a problem absolutely new. Formerly the navies which it had to consider were on the other side of narrow seas, like the English Channel, or the Mediterranean. Today some of the navies which it has to consider are on the other side of vast oceans. That is what I mean by saying that its problems are now oceanic.

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Next, there is the fact that at this juncture the United Kingdom has a very big and serious European problem on its hands. For the fourth time in modern European history there is in progress a movement which we may describe briefly as an attempt to organize Western Europe into, if not one State, at all events into one system of States. Three hundred years the Spanish Monarchy reigned over Spain and Portugal, over a great part of Italy, over Austria and Hungary, over a considerable part of Germany, and over Holland and Belgium. It tried to incorporate England in this system. Two hundred years ago France under Louis XIV. tried energetically to organize Western Europe under French leadership; at one time she controlled Spain, and commanded the resources of Western Europe from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Rhine; while she kept Germany in a condition of impotence and pressed very hard on Holland. One hundred years ago France again, under Napoleon, made the same attempt. At one juncture she controlled the coasts of Europe, with one or two exceptions, from Dantzig on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic; if Napoleon had not been fought so energetically by Great Britain with her sea-power, and if he had not been in too great a hurry, the effort might have succeeded. Now, you know perfectly well that Great Britain in the past invariably resisted all such attempts. The defeat of the Armada was her contribution to the failing of the Spanish dream, Marlborough's victories, shattered Louis XIV.; Nelson and Wellington helped to destroy Napoleon. It is the fixed belief in England that a country so small, with a population so inferior in numbers to that of Europe, cannot afford to see Western Europe link itself together in one great State or system of States under a common leadership. For three hundred years she always has backed the weaker powers which were resisting the stronger powers. She helped Holland and France against Spain. She helped Holland and Germany against Louis XIV. She helped Germany, Austria, Russia and Spain against Napoleon.

For nearly a hundred years after the fall of Napoleon Europe remained in a condition of balance; there has been no country so over-poweringly strong as to take charge of the rest. But now Germany is taking up the old course. First Germany itself became a great power, with Prussia as its core, as the active, energizing factor. Now we are faced with the possibility of seeing Western Europe organized in one system of States with Germany as the organizing, directing, energising core of the whole. Austria-Hungary has been drawn into the German orbit. So has Italy. Suppose that France, already handled very roughly, and badly outnumbered, were to be drawn into the system? Then we should see the old dream, thrice shattered, at last realized, except that the virtual capital of Europe would be Berlin and not Madrid or Paris.

I shall not say to you that this process of organizing, of spreading German influence, which is under way in Europe, is certain to lead to war. I am perfectly aware that great countries are increasingly reluctant to fight. But I shall make two remarks. One is that in the past history of Europe every such attempt to organize Europe into one great State meant wars, and very big wars; I may supplement this by reminding you that the earlier phases of the present German movement saw three wars, one of them very big. My other remark is that at present nations are fairly willing to arbitrate on matters of comparatively minor importance, but as yet show no willingness to arbitrate on questions of first-rate importance, such as this question whether Germany is to take charge of Western Europe and be its general manager, and perhaps be over-lord of the world. In this connection I must make one more remark. There exists a profound difference between the spirit of Germany and the spirit, I shall not say of Great Britain, but of all English-speaking nations. With us English-speaking folk the feeling is that the individual is the all-important thing, and that the State exists for the individual. The German theory is that the State is the all-important thing and that the individual exists for the State and is to be allowed only such rights and privileges as do not conflict with the needs of the State. The evidence is that the German is quite as contemptuous of our theory as our people are of the German theory. You see that there is in Europe a conflict of ideas as well as of interests.

What I mean by this disquisition upon high politics is that the situation in Europe is very delicate, and that at all events there may be a big war into which Great Britain may be drawn.

Germany is building a very big navy. As I have already said, I shall not go into statistics, but the general fact is that the German navy is not quite as strong as the British navy, but that it is so large that to keep its forces on the spot superior the British navy has been compelled to draw in its outlying fleets. In 1904 Britain had a powerful fleet of battleships in the Pacific; to-day she has none. Some years ago she had a very large fleet in the Mediterranean; to-day it is about half its former strength. Thus there now are very few British battleships away from the shores of Great Britain, and on those shores there are a great many. I must mention another circumstance to you, and that is that for the moment the German fleet is picketed more strictly than ever were the fleets of Great Britain's rivals before. It is penned up in the North Sea; there are only two ways out of the North Sea, one by the Straits of Dover and the English Channel; the other by the passage between Norway and Scotland, broken as that is by the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Great Britain keeps one big fleet in the English Channel and another about the Orkneys, and thus has the North Sea shut up. If there were no other big navies in the world, the situation would be very satisfactory.

But here is where the grand problem is. There are two other great navies in the world. One is on the coast of the United States. One is on the coast of Japan. The British navy has boxed the German navy up in the North Sea by leaving these two other navies unwatched. Suppose that the British Empire were to have friction with one of these other powers; it would be necessary to send a fleet to watch that power's fleet; and then British superiority in the North Sea would decline, and might disappear. There is reason to believe that the Germans calculate that sooner or later Great Britain will be forced to send to some distant ocean a detachment so large that the remainder left in home waters will be inferior to the whole German navy, concentrated in one striking force. I have seen it stated that the German calculation is that Great Britain ultimately must place forty per cent. of her force in the Pacific, so that the real German problem is to over-match, not the whole British fleet, but sixty per cent. of it. That is the second governing fact in Imperial Naval Strategy.

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With regard to the American fleet, I must enroll myself among those who do not expect an Anglo-American war. My reasons are not wholly sentimental. For one thing, ever since the Spanish American war of 1898, American policy has taken a turn which on the whole makes for agreement with Great Britain. For another thing, a real, determined Anglo-American war would mean nothing less than this—that both would be ruined. They would be so weakened as to be unable to resist other great powers, and the leadership of the world would go to some non-English-speaking country; perhaps to a non-Caucasian one. I think the consciousness of this fact is penetrating the political mind of both countries. I leave out, accordingly, any account of the American navy as a probable centre of hostility.

At present Great Britain and Japan are in alliance, but the alliance expires in 1915 and it is understood that it is not likely to be renewed. I shall not discuss politics further than to observe that after 1915 Japan will be free to pursue her own policy and that her policy might clash with that of Canada, or with that of Australia, or with the interests of Great Britain in the Far East. The fact is that Japan at the present moment is irresistibly strong in the Pacific. She has an army of 1,200,000 excellent soldiers and plenty of merchant ships in which to send them across the ocean. She has a large and efficient navy. Great Britain has only three or four armoured cruisers in the Pacific. We can hardly expect the British Empire to acquiesce permanently in this state of affairs. Sooner or later it must have an answering armed force in the Pacific. That is the German calculation. But the German calculation is that the United Kingdom must drain her strength by supporting that force. Suppose that we, the people of Greater Britain, were to club together and supply it!

In this connection I may notice the argument which one hears from time to time, that if Canada were to detach herself from the Empire the United Kingdom would still be obliged to maintain the same naval force; and that therefore Canada imposes no burden on the United Kingdom. Whatever may have been the case in former periods, it is no longer the case now. It is the need for keeping strong in the Pacific which constitutes the real difficulty of the United Kingdom; that need is imposed on the Empire because it has three white communities established on the Pacific—Canada, Australia and New Zealand. If there were no such communities, if the interests of the Empire in the Pacific were confined to the trade of the United Kingdom with the Far East, the problem of the mastery of the Pacific would assume an entirely different shape. That is our problem. We have added it to the other difficulties of the British Empire.

Now observe this fact. For us a fleet in the Pacific should be sufficient. We have no idea of invading any Asiatic country, and so do not need a large army for that purpose. All we desire, if we clash with a Pacific power, is to keep its armies from being ferried over to attack us; and the best way to do this is to keep a fleet strong enough to forbid any such enterprise. Of course, if our fleet were defeated and if an Asiatic army were to land on our shores, it would come to land fighting. A well-organized militia should be sufficient provision against that contingency.

Next, we are in this position. If we people of Canada, Australia and New Zealand sit still and do nothing, when the need for this British fleet in the Pacific arises, the Royal Navy, the navy of the United Kingdom, must supply it. To do so would be to weaken very seriously the fleet which the United Kingdom must keep opposite Germany. The German calculation once more, you see.

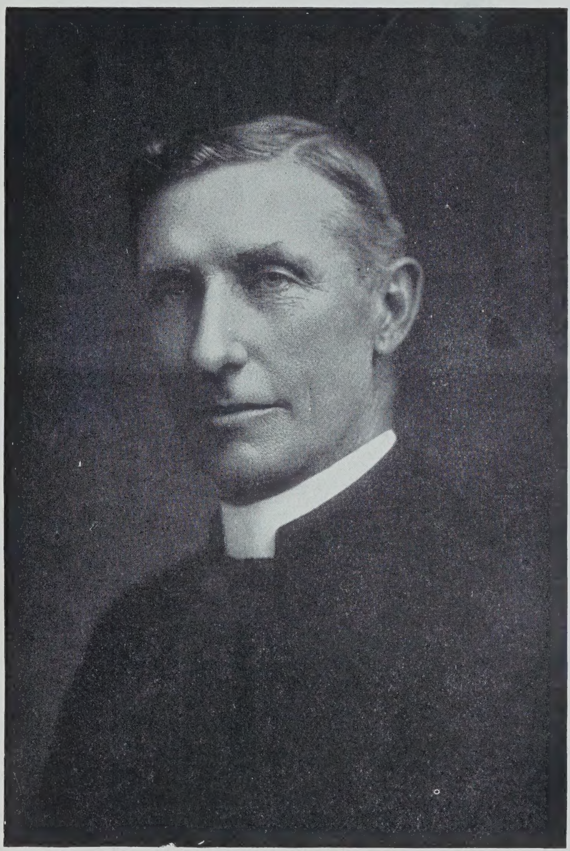
Suppose, next, that Canada, Australia and New Zealand were to take the position that they would take care of the situation in the Pacific by establishing there a joint British fleet of their own. I do not wish to go into details, but I may say that a very formidable squadron of four great battle-cruisers, with a liberal allowance of medium-sized cruisers and torpedo craft, could be kept on foot for some twelve or fifteen million dollars a year; or about one dollar per head of the people of the three British countries concerned. I do not say that such a fleet would overmatch that of Japan; but it should be strong enough to hold its own, given good leadership and good fortune, for some time, pending the arrival of reinforcements from Great Britain, and the demand on Great Britain would be smaller than under the present circumstances.

Observe, please, that the one joint fleet would equally serve the interests of all three British Dominions which border on the Pacific. If each were independent and were to look to itself exclusively, it would be obliged to have a fleet of much the same size. If they unite, the one fleet would forbid an attack on British Columbia as well as an attack on New South Wales. Thus there would be economy in combination.

Now then, suppose that this united Imperial Pacific Fleet were to be set up by the countries of Greater Britain. What would be the effect on the general strategical situation I have been describing? Surely it would be this—that the British Navy proper, in Europe, would be freed from the dread of having to send a great detachment to the Pacific and perhaps to be obliged to send that detachment at a most inconvenient and dangerous moment. It could turn its attention, with less in the way of pre-occupation, to the task of observing the situation in the North Sea. Thus the German calculation to which I have alluded would be upset, and the authorities who are pushing on the building of the great German fleet would be deprived of the hope that some turn of events in the Pacific would suddenly reduce the superiority of the British fleet in European waters. Moreover, if Great Britain's relation with Germany should become serious at a moment when the Empire was on thoroughly good terms with Japan, as is the case now, we might send a welcome reinforcement. The Pacific would become a reservoir of strength instead of a source of weakness to the Empire.

Thus the people of Greater Britain, by guarding their own special interests, could solve the great dilemma of Imperial naval strategy.

Canada is establishing a naval force of her own. She is doing it mainly, indeed almost altogether, on the Atlantic coast. I do not wish to undervalue the need for guarding our immensely important Atlantic coastline. But I wish to point out that the situation on the Atlantic is fairly well taken care of. Broadly speaking, the German fleet is the only European force we need to consider and it is shepherded into a corner as I have described, so that only casual raiders could annoy our Atlantic coastline. A few comparatively small and cheap cruisers could deter such vessels from haunting our waters. But our real danger is the defenceless condition of the Pacific. I therefore urge that Canada should put her real effort into the establishment of a joint Imperial fleet in that great ocean.



THE REV'D. CANON L. NORMAN TUCKER, D.D.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.

An Address delivered by the Rev. Canon L. Norman Tucker, LL.D., of London, Ont., before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on Jan. 12th, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

In dealing with the subject before me, namely, "Canada and the Empire," I will endeavour to do so more by way of suggestion, covering a good deal of ground and leaving the subject for your consideration, rather than by dealing with it in any foundation-building sort of way. I suppose the great mass of the Canadian people are satisfied that Canada should remain an integral portion of the British Empire. Not alone from sentiment or material interests, but because it enables us, with the inheritance, to share in the great traditions of the Motherland; to say that Shakespeare is our poet, and that the great men of England are our brethren, and that the great deeds of England, the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, were our battles; the great men, the great deeds, the great traditions, the great ideas of England are ours by remaining a part of the British Empire, and that is something not to be despised; and, moreover, to enable us so to look out upon the world as though we were a part of this little planet and not merely a part of North America. If there is a pitiable sight to-day it is described by the phrase they use in England, "The Little Englander," and what we call in Canada "The Little Canadian"; the parochial man, who thinks of nothing but his own little personal interests, or the interests of his little business. We are to-day a young nation, we are part of a family of nations, and it is the part of wisdom for us to look out upon the world and see our relations, our affiliations, and as part of the British Empire we can do that under the most favourable circumstances possible. We can from that point of view, feel proudly that we are not only citizens of the greatest Empire of the world, but also citizens of this planet—members of the human race.

I suppose I may assume that Canada to-day is a young nation—not an independent nation, but one of a family of nations within the bounds of the British Empire. Now, in considering our national life, one of the important elements in the land in which we live is the material resources we are called upon to exploit and develop. You have heard this theme dwelt upon until it is threadbare, and I am not going to go through the tale of the wonderful resources of the wonderful country—second to none, I suppose, in the national life of the world—but I would ask you to consider some of these elements of our national situation from a national point of view.

Take the commerce of New Ontario. I suppose that most of us are citizens of old Ontario. We have been born here and bred here, and look upon this old province with pride as being the premier province of the Dominion, and we had made up our minds that its resources were practically all developed and that we had reached very nearly the goal of provincial development; when one fine day, about six or eight years ago, the curtain was withdrawn in the north and New Ontario burst upon our view. Now, this is something remarkable, that New Ontario came into view, as it were, by accident, and most people never noticed it, yet it is now one of the great elements in our national life. There is Cobalt—I suppose you have all heard of Cobalt! A story is told of a widely-travelled American who was asked where Toronto was. He thought for a moment, scratched his head and said, "Oh, yes, that is the place where you change cars for Cobalt"; and beyond Cobalt is Gowganda, and beyond Gowganda is Porcupine—all in New Ontario. Then beyond Porcupine is the great forest region with 300,000,000 acres of pulpwood. And then, when the trees have been hewn down and the stumps rooted out, you have there a great clay-belt as large as old Ontario, as long as from Sarnia or Windsor to Montreal, 500 to 600 miles, and as wide as from Toronto to Peterboro, or Orillia, or Kingston to Ottawa; enabling us to practically double the population and power of this great province and enabling the little Ontarion of the future to speak not only of the premier province of the Dominion, but of an Imperial province in an Imperial State—the greater Ontario.

That is what New Ontario means to old Ontario, but it has a larger meaning than that for our nation. I suppose some of you noticed the large deputation that visited the little city of Ottawa a few days ago, a very large deputation coming from the West, and I suppose most of us who have travelled in the West have noticed a very marked line of cleavage between Eastern and Western feeling, and that line of cleavage was unavoidable, so long as a thousand miles of rock and wilderness lay between the Ottawa and Winnipeg Rivers. Well, now, do you see where New Ontario comes in to bridge over that chasm, to join the Ottawa and Winnipeg Rivers, to join Quebec and Manitoba, to join the East and the West and to effect a gradual transition from Eastern Canada to Western Canada and to practically obliterate all possibility of cleavage in the future between the East and the West; because the East will merge into the West and the West into the East through this New Ontario. I can hardly imagine any gift that the God of Nations could have bestowed on any people greater, or of greater value, than this discovery of New Ontario. It is, therefore, not only Cobalt, remember, or Gowganda, or Porcupine, or the money that is to be made out of that new region; it is the question of a national asset of the highest possible value.

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Now look at the prairies from a national point of view. There are, I suppose, some steamship companies who look upon the prairies as a dumping ground for the immigrants who pay fares to the steamship companies. And the railway companies look upon the West in somewhat the same light. They are carrying tens of thousands of passengers and receiving tens of thousands of fares for the West. There are land companies, you sometimes read about, that buy millions of acres of land at a dollar an acre and sell it at $5 or $10 an acre, and pocket about $9,000,000 on the deal. These men look upon land in the West from a different point of view than I would look upon it. I have seen enterprising men in Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Lethbridge, and Vancouver, whose

Kingdom of Heaven consisted of real estate and corner lots—(laughter)—their Kingdom of Heaven! And so there are multitudes of people who look upon the West as the place that provides for the speculator and the real estate agent corner lots at boom prices, so as to get-rich-quick.

Now, the West is a very different thing from that to me. I look upon those vast prairies of the West as a region where men can lead an outdoor and healthy life—healthy in body, in mind, and in character—men who can till the ground and be brought in constant contact with nature; because you know many of the best men in the cities come from the country, and the best men in the Dominion have come from the country, and we must always look upon the country as the great recruiting ground for our men—the bone and sinew of our nation. There you have got the finest field in all the world, healthy climate and splendid outdoor life, in contact, in immediate contact, with nature that will suffer no humbug. It not only grows men but grows grain to feed our fellow-men. That I conceive to be a very high office—to be the granary and bakehouse of the world and for our fellow-men. It is not only the exchange of goods, which, of course, is of very great value, but here is the actual creation and production of that which is the very life of man—the staff of life. As Egypt was to the ancient world, so Canada will be to the modern world, because of our great Northwest, which is going to be the granary of the world.

Now look at our geographical position from a national point of view. If you had to pick out from this planet a piece of ground that would build up a nation that would possess the gates of the nations, you would choose the Dominion of Canada. Do you know it is the shortest route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across the continent, through the Dominion of Canada? You do not go from New York to San Francisco because the earth bulges out at that point—in Canada it dwindles. We are told that in the far regions of the north surveyors have to consider the shrinkage of the planet in making their geographical survey. We have the shortest route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Vancouver and Prince

Rupert, the shortest route to China and Japan, and from the Atlantic seaboard the shortest route to England and Europe. I am told that from Liverpool to Yokohama through Canada is over 2,000 miles shorter than through New York and San Francisco, and great as is the enterprise and ability of our neighbors to the south, I think a handicap of 2,000 miles or more is a little too much even for the enterprising American. That is to say, geographically, we are in a position to command the Atlantic and the trade of Europe, and the Pacific and the trade of Asia—that is, practically the trade and industry of this planet is largely in the hands of the Canadian people if we choose to put out our hands and seize it. Now here you have our geographical position. These are all questions of the highest possible interest from a national and from an Imperial point of view.

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I consider that not only material resources go to make up a nation or an empire—they are only the foundation. They cut in the end a very small figure as compared with other elements that go to make up the national life, and we have in Canada—though still a young people—all the great elements that produce great men, great citizenship and great nationhood. We have a history. People sometimes tell me "Why, Canada has no history." I question whether there is an old land in the world that has a more romantic history than this Dominion of Canada. If you take it from the foundation of the city of Quebec, even, to the present time, we have all the elements of romance in our national life. Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave a very interesting address a short time ago on "The Explorers of Canada." You will not find in Sir Walter Scott, or the old history of Greece—even in the romantic history of Greece—anything to surpass the travels of LaSalle under the French *regime,* or the travels of Fraser, Mackenzie and Thompson in connection with the great fur-trading companies of the West. You have had men who, in the days to come, will stand out as do many fabulous characters in history.

In genealogy, in our parentage, we have men who left all behind them in the Republic to the south for what we call sentiment—for the love of the old flag and the old throne; left all behind them to come and carve their way in the forests of Ontario, to lay the foundations of these beautiful towns and cities that are the pride of not only the Dominion of Canada but of the whole Empire to-day. And not only have we the U.E. Loyalists, the pioneers, both men and women, but many more—I would not exchange my parentage in Canada for the blood of all the Howards—the noble men that laid the foundations of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. We could seek on earth no nobler ancestry than this. We have had all the virtues that go to make men and make nations if we can only preserve those virtues and follow in their footsteps. Then religion! Is there a nation which has heroes exercising more religious influence than we have in the Jesuit Fathers, or the pioneer missionaries who followed the settlers as they carved their way through the forests of the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, and Ontario; as they stretched across the prairies and mountains of the West, as they followed all the rivers on to the Arctic Sea? A nobler body of men cannot be found since the days of the Apostles than these men who founded our churches in this Dominion of Canada.

Patriotism! Can you find in any history a more wonderful feat than that accomplished by Wolfe with his little army when they climbed the banks of Quebec and fought the battle of the Plains of Abraham, or in our own 1812 war in the Niagara Peninsula, or in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885? When I am in Winnipeg, I always go to see the little cemetery of St. John; to see that little monument erected by the officers and men in memory of their comrades who fell at Duck Lake and Batoche. And as long as the history of England lasts and English heroism is celebrated in prose or verse, Paardeberg will fill an honoured place. Citizenship! Why, we are seeking to-day to solve one of the most delicate and difficult problems of citizenship, and we are solving it successfully by the fusion of two great races in the exploiting of the resources of half a continent.

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We have credited ourselves, and rightly, with great achievements along certain lines in the past—we are proud of our ancestry, of our history, of our heritage. Let us now find an outlet for some of our energy and enterprise on the deck of a man-of-war, and if we spend a few millions on a fleet of men-of-war, and men to man them, it will be all to the good—it will do something for the future development of the human resources of the Canadian people. It will do us all good. It will take men living in obscurity and cause them to devote their lives to a career of honour and of interest to the nation, to the Empire, and to the world. I believe the Canadian people will be all the better for taking a few millions away from the loose conditions in which they are in at Ottawa sometimes—to be grabbed at by people who have no claim to them! A few millions spent upon proper men-of-war—and remember, there is no humbug with a man-of-war, because it will either turn turtle or go to the bottom if not properly built and properly manned. I believe the salvation of the Canadian people is to have something of this kind to-day, offering as it would a new career to the young men of Canada.

Then I believe also the Canadian people feel that we ought to draw the bonds that unite the Empire together, more closely. I do not know exactly how to express it—I do not want to trespass on forbidden ground and introduce controversy. But I believe this, that our people feel that something is going to happen. We desire to be members of the British Empire; we are satisfied that the present condition of the Empire cannot continue forever—some political change is imperatively demanded. It may be that our Dominion of Canada may become an object lesson to the Empire, and just as we have the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, then the Provincial Legislatures dealing with the narrower questions; so, by and by we shall have an Imperial Parliament to deal with Imperial questions, and Scotland, Ireland, England, possibly Wales, handling their own local affairs—an Imperial Parliament for Britain and the Dominions beyond the Seas—an Imperial Parliament to take in the whole Empire. I believe there are a great many people in Canada to-day who are neither statesmen nor politicians, but who dream dreams, who some day, somehow, have a vague idea of evolving into great speakers—geniuses in the British Parliament, though they have never spoken on any great question yet before them!

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The position of our commercial relations should be of a closer character, could be cemented more firmly than at the present time, I think. I do not know that I advocate the Preference we hear so much about to-day, nor the Chamberlainism on the other side—that is not my point; my point is that something of the kind ought to be brought about soon in connection with the relation of Canada with the Motherland and with all the other parts of the Empire. Above all, and this is my last word: there is something more important than ships or men-of-war, more important than trade and preference, and that is the training of citizens, the training of men for the nation and for the Empire. And here we have the great problem of problems: What is a man? and How are we to train men? Now, the home must take its place in this great work, and I am afraid the parents of to-day are abrogating many of the highest rights of family life in various ways which you can understand, but more especially in neglecting the training of their children. I believe you never can dispense with the home. The church, the school, the world, will never replace God's own institution —the home. I want to bring home to the parents, the fathers and mothers, the fact that there is something more important than playing bridge, or smoking cigars at the club—this training of your daughters and your sons at home for the highest inheritance of citizenship in the Empire to-day. We want our schools to do their part also, and not to teach only "Reading, Riting and Rithmetic," all very important in their places.

But there is something more, and Lord Grey put his finger upon one of the blots in our life of to-day—the mannerlessness of our youth, especially the boys. I would that we could solve the problem of training our boys to have respect for older people, for people with grey hair, as for example in China, where the people are trained to respect their parents and older people. I want our boys to respect older people, whether their station be secular or religious. Then our mode of speech! I do not pose as an example so much as a warning. I am one of those unfortunates, partly Scotch and English and partly French, and my whole speaking apparatus has in some way been put out of joint; but I have felt when I have come from England, for example, or other parts of the world, that the time has come for the Canadian people to consider this matter of voice—accent—which goes with the highest culture of the mind. There is a work for our schools, to train not only the intellect and character, but to train all that makes for the full development of citizens, or the highest type of citizen—what we call the "English gentleman."

Our press has a work to do here also. Now, I am one of those who admire our Canadian press, and I think we have papers that are a credit to our country; but I think if the *Mail and Empire* were a little less Conservative—"dyed in the wool" Conservative; and if the *Globe* were a little less Liberal—"dyed in the wool" Liberal; if the one would not so greatly worship their demi-god, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or the other so greatly censure that old miscreant, Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and if they were a little more independent from a political point of view so that we could have the sound and sober sentiment of our thinking people—instead of screening the misdoings of their party—it would be a great advantage. I would that we had an electorate that could make it impossible for a man with a stained character to stand before a Canadian audience. The political orgies we read about, should not only be impossible, but impossible of even being suggested—because there is no smoke without a little fire. We want men of independence in our electorate who will consider these questions in their own mind, and come to conclusions regarding the same in their own minds; and this leads me to my last point—What is a man?

In my judgment it is principle and character that constitutes a man—it is not a forked radish with digestive powers and powers of locomotion—it is not the instrument that is swayed with every wind that blows on the top of a church steeple—but a man is one who knows the truth and loves the truth and is going to speak the truth, who knows the right, loves the right and is going to do the right—he is not swayed by every wind that blows. Now, I leave these two question with you—What is a man? and How are we going to produce men —fit citizens for our Dominion and our Empire.

MR. A. W. CAMPBELL.

GOOD ROADS AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE

An Address by Mr. A. W. Campbell, Deputy-Minister of Railways and Canals, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Jan. 10, 1910. Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am sure that I appreciate very much receiving an invitation from your Club to come here and discuss with you for a little time to-day a question which, although belonging apparently to very commonplace matters, is to my mind one of very great importance. It has been my pleasant duty during the last twenty years to have gone throughout the Province of Ontario trying to create an interest among the people in the betterment of waggon roads.

In the first instance we had to make it prominent and clear that the object of the movement was not for the express purpose of raising or increasing the amount of money expended upon these roads, so much as it was a movement for the better organization of the forces which were at work at that time upon the roads. In order to do this successfully we had to attack in a rather strenuous manner the method, or system, which was then in operation and which had been followed for nearly one hundred years in this Province. In doing this we necessarily had to tread upon the toes of some of the more sensitive people who had come to the conclusion that the old system was one which they could not afford to discredit. It was looked upon as being the time-honoured system: the system of making macadamized roads with the labour of the individual.

There was a time in the history of the Province when this was a very strenuous task. The citizenship of early days was sparse and scattered over large areas, and the work of building a road, of draining the swamps, of bridging the streams, of laying corduroy in the marshy places, had to be done by the labour of the individual citizen without assistance in any way from Provincial or Municipal monies; and we all agree that all honour is due to the men who built those roads through the forests of Ontario, who did that marvellous work, and at the same time cleared the farms and made homes for themselves and their children. Of course, it was necessary, in order to bring about some greater improvement, and to make more advances in the primitive methods of road making—such improvements as were being made in methods of farming and in agricultural surroundings generally—that we should start an agitation for the improvement of the method of making and macadamising roads.

In doing this it was necessary to give the pioneers credit for what they had done, and at the same time to point out to their successors the evils and dangerous elements which entered into the existing system of road making, and which were being felt in many parts of the country, viz: the introduction of the system of raising a special vote, and levying money in connection with the carrying out of the principle of statute labour. This system led to the work being done in an untidy and shiftless manner; and I would point out that it meant an outlay of twenty million days of statute labour in building roads which had been cleared and stumped, and which the settlers admitted at that time were not in any better condition than they were twenty years before. In addition to that twenty million of labour days in recent years there was raised and expended $19,000,000 in money. It was pointed out how this labor was being squandered and the money misapplied; and how, with the forty millions outlay made in that length of time no substantial betterment had come to the Province so far as the improvement of its roads was concerned; and that no effort was being made to train up men as specialists in the art of road construction, and road macadamising and maintenance.

After having spent ten years in visiting nearly every locality in the Province, and having held meetings in the school-houses, the township halls, and at lot corners, I stated that I would be willing to accept that nineteen million dollar cash expenditure, and the twenty millions in labour expended in twenty years, and would undertake for that sum to improve, macadamise and gravel, in first-class manner, all the roads in the Province of Ontario. I directed attention to the waste which had been going on, and gradually we found that an interest was being created; the farmers were beginning to understand these roads costing them millions were a tax on the people, and that if I, an engineer, promised them to enter into a contract to take the same amount as had been expended in the last twenty years, and macadamise all these roads, then there must have been an awful waste going on, and they could not afford to postpone discussion of the subject. They saw that something must be done to organize the forces, to lay out a regular plan and system, instead of squandering the expenditure of both money and labour.

As a result we find that in the last ten years the farmers have been asking for legislation, and the Legislature has granted a special appropriation to aid them, to the extent of one-third of the cost, in building main-roads, with the object of encouraging them to make, first, trunk county roads, and then having these plans submitted to the Department so that it could be seen that proper communication was made between the counties, and thus a system of inter-county roads formed. Already 3,000 miles of these roads have been laid under the operation of the Act, and 1,200 miles macadamised according to the standard provided by the Department of Public Works and, having spent so many years in viewing these roads, knowing their condition, seeing the expenditure which was made, and knowing the changes which have followed it is easy for me to realize what is being done by the farmers of Ontario.

Sir, in a careful consideration of the problem it has never been made clear why the duty of making these roads throughout the Province should be imposed wholly and entirely upon the farmer. I mean that while the farmer may utilize the roads for bringing his produce to the town or city, at the same time the inhabitants of the towns and cities benefit by the existence of the roads which render it possible for the farmer to bring his produce to them. I think that it is a matter which should be considered by the people of the Province, that we are all responsible in this matter, and I say that there is no tax which can be imposed, within a degree that is reasonable and properly expended, that will be of greater benefit, and bring about a more beneficial improvement to the people as a whole, than one devoted to the improvement of roads even outside the cities and towns.

I am exceedingly pleased that the citizens of Toronto should have decided to aid the farmers of the county of York in building roads. I appreciate the difficulty of County Councils, and Township Councils, in considering the question of the improvement of roads surrounding Toronto, in having to deal with the problem of traffic drawn from forty miles round Toronto, and being brought to the markets of Toronto. Start, for instance in the county of Simcoe, or Ontario, and as the city is approached the roads become more and more congested, and consequently the cost of maintaining the roads more and more expensive, and it would be unfair to make the people in the immediate vicinity of the city pay the whole cost of maintaining those roads. I do not believe that the solution of the problem could have been brought about had it not been for the generous spirit in which the citizens of Toronto consented to contribute $100,000 of the $300,000 required for the scheme, and thus assisted the farmers to carry out this work.

The improving of the roads means the bringing in of produce more regularly and uniformly. It means the bringing of it in to the city in better condition, the improved condition of the road will make the cost of transportation less and in this way give a greater return to the producer, while the producer can give a better article to the consumer at a less cost. In addition we find that improved roads surrounding large centres like Toronto are an agency for, and have a tendency to permit, the people to see more of each other, for the people of the city to go out among the people of the country. thus breaking, to a great extent the isolation of the country, and having a tendency to relieve and elevate farm-life, and encourage improvement. When this is done we will get a better class of public men. It will also lead to the people of the cities going outside and buying large farms, spending their surplus cash in cultivating land in an intelligent way, in experimenting, and in demonstrating to the farmers what they can do to better their own condition, to make their own work more profitable, and to relieve farming of some of the distasteful feelings which some people have regarding it to-day.

There has been a great deal of progress made along these lines and more can be made, and it is a delight for me to find Clubs in these great commercial centres who will devote half an hour, once a year, to the consideration of this subject, encouraging the people to improve their roads and to have a good word for the work which they are doing. We are beginning to see the importance of this matter to a far greater extent than we did a few years ago. I remember that when I was a City Engineer for a city in Ontario some years ago I followed the same old method of dumping gravel and sand. But the bicycle came looming on the horizon, and as soon as men became the propelling power of the vehicles which carried them their attention was attracted to the condition of the roads. The bicyclist noticed every hole, rut, loose stone and bump. He became interested in grades, and what it meant to go round hills rather than climb them, and he began to write, criticise, and lecture me about my knowledge of road-making, and I began to realize that I ought to sit up and study a little, something about street-making and road-making. The bicycle was a wonderful instrument in favour of good roads, for it caused people to think.

Closely on the heels of the bicycle comes a more strenuous and more expensive vehicle known as the automobile. These vehicles are being driven all over the country; it is almost useless to start to run them for a few miles. People want to go from Montreal to Windsor, Toronto to Buffalo, all through the Province, at least where the roads are distinctly or fairly good. Now I tell you that it is a perfectly serious thing for you who are users of the roads and these luxurious vehicles to consider whether you have the right to curse the farmer because he is not keeping his road in proper condition. It is difficult for him to do better, and I pause here to say, that if you are advocates of the improvement of the roads for the benefit of your automobiles the farmer may say: "We don't want your advice." He feels that if you are really conscientious in your desire for better roads then you will go out and give a day's statute labour, spend a dollar, and where there is a loose stone see to it, where there is a hole bring a spade, and where there is a rut level it up. In that way you can convince the farmer of your sincerity.

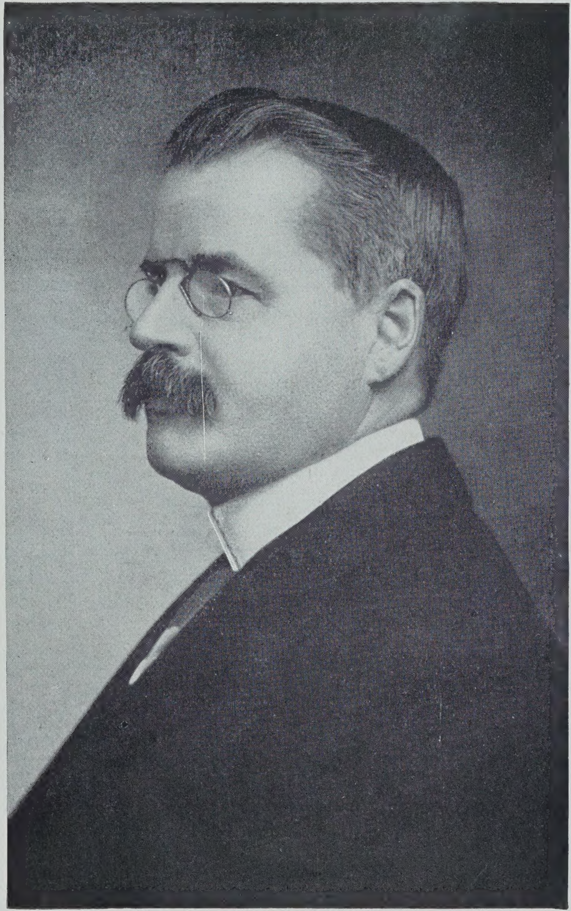
Some States in the Union are to-day discussing whether automobiles, or rather automobilists, should not contribute a special tax for the purpose of making special roads. I have frequently discussed the matter with automobile people, and I find them adverse to the plan of spending money through the ordinary municipal channels, where we find large amounts voted, and some wasted. Lay down a comprehensive plan for the making of improved inter-county roads and for keeping them right; and then if a special tax is placed upon the automobilists they will contribute and contribute liberally and generously.

I have in my mind a main Provincial road running along the shores of Lake Ontario from Montreal to Windsor, 500 miles. I have in my mind another main Provincial road running from the city of Toronto in a northerly direction, through the beautiful scenery of the Muskoka district, on through North Bay, to the Cobalt mining district, through the Temiskaming belt of two million acres, to the great sixteen million acres of clay belt, and on to Winnipeg. In addition to these I have in mind the construction of roads in the Southern and Eastern parts of the Province; from Fort Erie and Niagara Falls between the waters of the Thames River and Lake Erie, through Guelph and Palmerston, reaching to the Huron and Bruce districts, and giving to the Province a means of inter-communication which is comprehensive, and yet easy and simple. I think that automobilists would contribute an annual tax of $100 each towards the maintenance of such a system of roads, and if they cannot afford to do so then they cannot afford to run automobiles.

This one road, we will say from Montreal to Windsor, 500 miles, could be made a first-class road, macadamised and gravelled, for $3,000 a mile. One and a half million dollars we will say. Ten thousand motors at $100 and one million dollars is provided, and surely the municipalities through which the road passes will contribute the small balance! I would undertake to go out to-morrow and secure without any serious difficulty the remaining half million, and in one or two years you would have something to show for the expenditure. In twenty years we have expended forty millions, and what have we got to show for it? A few patches of road in a few counties which illustrate the improved government system. These we hope may set an object lesson for the municipalities in the better way of making roads, but in addition to the plan for the making of good roads it must be remembered that you must also lay down a plan, a suitable system, for their maintenance. There are a few principles of road-making which must be observed. The foundation is the first thing to secure. Without a dry and unyielding foundation it is as useless to attempt to build a first-class road as a first-class building. Then the road must be shaped to shed the water, and ditched to carry it off at the sides, and it must be formed of broken stone properly prepared, and rolled so as to resist wear, and form a surface which will send the water into the ditches. These few principles must be adopted and observed. There is nothing mysterious about it, but it requires care and the closest attention possible to the rules if you are to have a proper road which will be a secure and profitable investment.

But if you build your five hundred miles of road you will afterwards require a proper staff of men to see that it is kept in proper repair. "A stitch in time saves nine." To keep up a road little attention is required, whereas if you once allow it to break it is only a matter of a few weeks before the passage of vehicles cuts into the foundation, and the road is practically destroyed. Judgment must be exercised in carrying on a campaign of education along these lines, to show people by simple methods of road-making that it is possible to protect your millions of expenditure and at the same time give properly-constructed roads which can be maintained at a fairly reasonable cost.

Gentlemen, there is no use in going further. This may appear a common-place problem, but while in my duty as Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals I am brought into contact most closely with the great transportation systems of the country, and look at this matter from the other end, I may say that it is of vital importance to have proper consideration of this question. We must not loose sight of the fact that while we have 8,000 miles of railroad entering into and covering this Province so closely that it is almost impossible to see where another railroad is required, we have 60,000 miles of waggon roads, acting as feeders to the railways, carrying millions of tons of produce which would swamp the carrying capacity of all the railways and canals of the country. Close the waggon roads of Ontario and the railways would starve. They would be useless, and if we consider our great transportation problems it is as necessary to consider them from the one end as from the other. I have been twenty years studying the elementary part of the system, and I have now developed a natural respect, from their vital importance, for the common waggon roads of the country.



MR. C. C. JAMES, C.M.G.

THE PEOPLING OF ONTARIO.

An Address by Mr. C. C. James, M.A., LL.D., Deputy Minister of Agriculture, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Jan. 26, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Once in a while we have seen the prophecy made by some ardent—perhaps over-ardent Imperialist—that the day will come when the centre of the British Empire will move westward across the Atlantic Ocean and find its location somewhere in Canada. I doubt, however, if any of us will live long enough to see that, however much we might desire it. There are others who have prophesied that ultimately the centre of Canada must also move westward, and the direction of Canadian affairs—the heads of the Government—will be transferred from the banks of the Ottawa River to the banks of the Red River. That is a question that concerns us perhaps a little more directly at the present time because it comes home more closely to us; and while it is a possibility, yet I think perhaps it, also, is not likely to occur within the period of our existence.

The West in its growth, development and its increase in population, in the development of its great agricultural resources in particular, has been attracting a great deal of attention, and some of us who are concerned with similar movements in the East, often ask the question, why is it these problems of the West appear to take up so much time and public attention, more than similar problems do in the East? Not long ago I asked a financial man of the city of Toronto his opinion of that, and he said the answer was very easy. "Eastern capital is so largely interested in the West, and the development of the West so largely based upon credit, that the people of the East are directly concerned in the prosperity and growth of that country, perhaps, to an almost larger extent than in the growth and development of our own Province." Whatever may be the reason for it, I think we may clearly come to this conclusion, that it is our duty as citizens of the Province of Ontario to study first and foremost those questions which directly concern this banner province of the Dominion, and anything that has to do with the increase in the population, and in the distribution of the population within the boundaries of this Province—anything that has to do with the development of great industries, whether manufacturing industries or rural industries. These questions ought to be given by us very careful consideration, and that is one of the reasons why I thought it might interest you if I were to say a few things along the line of the growth and development, of the future possibilities, of the population of the Province of Ontario.

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We have heard of the rise, growth and development of our own Province, but the people of our own Province have as interesting a story as has ever been written about any other country, and if we were only to take the trouble and pains to look into that story we would find it not only interesting, but also find it a source of great inspiration to us. Just let me refer to two or three notes I have as to the facts concerning the growth and increase of the people of this Province. In the years 1783-4 we find the first trek into this wilderness, which then formed the western portion of the Province of Quebec. We are told by historians of that time that some ten thousand U.E. Loyalists left their homes across the line to come and form the first settlements in this western portion of Quebec. At that time there were four fortified posts on the frontier—Oswego, Cataraqui (the present Kingston), Fort Niagara, and one on the River Detroit.

Naturally, coming into this wilderness country with foes on all sides, or at least those who were not disposed to be friendly, the Loyalists would take up land and settle down in as close proximity to each other as possible. So we find the struggles of the early pioneers of this country taking place about these four places; along the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of Oswego, around the Bay of Quinte in the vicinity of Fort Cataraqui, along the road that reached old Fort Niagara in the south-western portion of the Peninsula, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Detroit. This left large gaps in between, with a total of about 75,000 or 80,000 at the outside. The centennial of the War of 1812-14 will be with us very soon, and I doubt if there is anything that will help us appreciate the situation and what took place at that time so much as to clearly get into our minds that the entire population of the Province of Upper Canada then consisted of less than one-fourth of the people at present resident in the city of Toronto.

After the close of that war, which brought peace not only to this continent, but also to all Europe, there began a great movement into this province—the great British immigration, or trek as it is sometimes called. Beginning in 1814, when the returning regiments were disbanded, and had to be provided with homes, it kept on increasing continually away on down to the 40's, 50's and 60's, lasting even down to the time of Confederation in 1867. This movement across the ocean of the English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh, was, of course, materially assisted by certain economic conditions in the Old Land. We now come to that time, with which students of British history are familiar, when owing to the failure of the potato crop and new styles of farming introduced, etc., Britishers began to stream across to this great country. They came not only in thousands, but in tens of thousands, and, taking it over a long period, to hundreds of thousands. As they came into Upper Canada they began to gradually fill in those places on the frontier between the original four sections I have referred to, and then they began to fill up the townships to the rear.

Those were growing times for Canada. Sometimes, now, when there is a very large movement in this Province or some of the other Provinces, we refer to the enormous number and great tidal wave of humanity that is moving in; but taking the population relatively, I doubt if we have ever seen anything in the Province of Ontario to equal that movement of the British settlers who crossed the ocean in the 40's, 50's and 60's. These people contributed a very important element to the development of Upper Canada, particularly from an agricultural standpoint, and this is one that specially interests myself. They brought the old love for live-stock, and not only that, but they brought considerable numbers of live-stock with them, and they brought also into the development of Upper Canada, as it was then called, a new element and one to which this Province and Canada as a whole owes a great deal. That is the introduction of pure-bred stock, cattle, horses, sheep and swine; and if it had not been for the live-stock element at the back of our great agricultural industry, I am afraid that this Province of Upper Canada would long since have been bankrupt.

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In 1867 the rural population of the Province of Ontario amounted to 1,020,000, and the urban population to only 290,000, that is, there were in all the towns and cities in the Province of Ontario at Confederation nearly 100,000 less than there are in the city of Toronto alone to-day. From then down to 1886 there was a steady growth, not only in our rural population, but also in our town and city population; but when we come to the year 1886 we find that something new is introduced into the Province of Ontario, something which started a new era, and that was the completion of the C.P.R., which opened up immense areas of cheap agricultural lands to the west of the Lakes. The effect of this was very, very marked; at once there began that movement which has continued ever since, the farmers of Ontario going out West to develop Western agricultural lands, Western towns and cities; and there has grown up that great manufacturing industry in Ontario which has also reacted on the rural parts, drawing into the towns and cities our young men by scores, by hundreds, and by thousands. Add to this the adoption of the McKinley tariff, whereby the great bulk of our most valuable farm products were excluded from the United States, and you will have for consideration three facts in connection with the rural population which must be very seriously considered—the attraction of cheap lands in the West; the attraction of the local towns and cities through the development of manufactures here; and the exclusion of our best products from the United States market.

All these things came about the same time, and it is little wonder that when we come to the year 1886 we find that this rural population was at once checked, and that from then on it went down gradually until about 14 years ago, in 1896-7, we find that the rural population in Ontario had lost not only all its natural increase, but about 100,000 in addition. Meanwhile, however, and just for comparison, if you will allow me, I will give you a few figures. I will not burden you with many, but to show you what a difference in growth then took place in country and town, I will just give you the figures of those years. From 1867 to 1886 the rural population increased by about 130,000, whereas the urban population had grown from 290,000 to 678,000, but by 1906 this rural population had dropped off 100,000, and the urban population had grown from 678,000 to 1,092,000. Now that brings us down to the present time. In 1906 or 1907, apparently, we reached the bottom of the swing so far as the rural population was concerned.

We are now on the up-grade; not growing very rapidly, it is true, but still making some growth. The average increase in the rural population in Ontario during the last three years has averaged about 3,000 a year—the average urban population between 40,000 and 45,000 a year. So at the present time we are face to face with certain conditions in this Province that require very careful study, and in fact more than careful study, very, very careful consideration on the part of those who have to do with the management and direction of affairs. The question is this: What is to become of the Province of Ontario within the next twenty or twenty-five years? Are we simply to drift or follow the lines of the least resistance? Or are we to endeavour to direct the growth of our people and try to assist in the development of the people along certain specific lines? Here is the question: Is Ontario to become a great manufacturing Province, or is it to become an agricultural Province, or is it possible to develop both interests side by side?

Ordinarily, one would say the development of the manufacturing of a country must necessarily bring about the development of the agriculture of the country; and, yet, if you will look at the history and development of a large number of the United States and of certain countries of Europe, you will find that it is a matter of great difficulty to develop these two great industries side by side. We have, perhaps, the best examples in the United States. We know, of course, there was a time there when agriculture and manufacture were inseparable, mainly because the manufacturing was of a domestic nature; but since manufacturing has been taken out of the home and put in factories the tendency has been to build up the large towns and to draw the population for these large towns chiefly from the country. The States that have developed their manufacturing industries to the greatest extent are not those which have developed their agriculture. The tendency in most countries is to concentrate efforts along one line or the other. In Europe, for instance, you will find the greatest agricultural sections are not great manufacturing sections, but there you will also find places where the two are growing up side by side.

Now what is to be the future of Ontario? The first thing, perhaps, will be to look at its natural advantages, and we have only to look at them to see that we have here in this Province advantages for manufacturing enjoyed by few other places on the North-American continent. We are just coming into the era of cheap electric power. We are coming to that time when manufacturing will depend to a large extent upon the cost of power, and we are passing from the condition of being dependent entirely upon coal to the utilization of water-power. One has only to mention St. Mary's River, the Niagara, the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Trent—to say nothing of the almost unlimited water-power that will be opened up in Northern Ontario by the new railroads that are being constructed—to prove that here in this Province we have unlimited water-powers awaiting only development.

I venture to make the prophecy that you will see within the next ten or fifteen years a great development in eastern Ontario. We in western Ontario have always rather felt that there is a superiority in the western over the eastern part of this Province; but if we study this question from the standpoint I have just referred to, we can come to only one conclusion, and that is that in eastern Ontario in the next ten or fifteen years there will be a development such, perhaps, as the west did not know in its palmiest days. Take the River Trent—one of the water-powers I mentioned, and starting at Balsam Lake, at the head of that system—we have there a sheet of water higher than Lake Superior. The fall from Balsam Lake to the mouth of the Trent exceeds in height the St. Mary's, Niagara Falls, and all the rapids of the Niagara River. We have, therefore, the facilities for the development of our great manufacturing industries, and, there is no question about it, that as the West grows and increases and spreads out there is going to be a great expansion of manufacturing here in the Province of Ontario.

But what concerns some of the rest of us is what, at the same time, is going to become of the development of our agricultural resources and our agricultural population? We come, then, right at that point, to what is one of the most important and serious questions before the people of this Province to-day. Men who live in the towns and cities frequently complain about the shortage of labour. Again and again we are compelled to bring out cheap labour for manufacturing. But if the manufacturer is up against it for his manufacturing, the man who is working upon the farm and developing the agricultural resources of this country is "up against it" to a far more serious extent. This drawing away of our population to the West, and this luring of the cheap labourer of the country into the towns and cities, has drained the farms of this country so that one wonders there are any people left in the rural parts, the agricultural portions, at all.

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The situation began to show itself so seriously some three or four years ago, that the Department of the Government to which I am attached and which has supervision of immigration and colonization work, felt that it was absolutely necessary for something to be done to attract, if at all possible, more farm labourers to this country. There had been up to that time a very vigorous campaign carried on by the Immigration Department, and they had been attracting large numbers to this Province; but the lure of the West had been too much, and all were passing by our doors to the cheap lands of the West. And when to the Dominion Immigration endeavours was added the campaign carried on by the Western land companies and the transportation companies, you will see that there was very little for the East to hope for from that movement. The result was that an extra effort was put forth to try and see if we could not attract immigrants directly to this Province from the Old Land.

Then was commenced, about 1907, a very active campaign in the Old Country to try and attract people to this Province. Out of that has come an organism, a fairly complete system in the Old Land, with head office of the management on the Strand, London. We located on the Strand, in London, because that street is the most important street in the whole world, I suppose. Now we come across people again and again who say: "Why, it is an easy matter, you ought to bring out people in tens of thousands to Ontario and the other Provinces." Of course, people who talk in that way have had no experience in the matter as to what conditions we find in the Old Country. Here we have the rural parts of Ontario crying for men; have our manufacturers from one end of the country to the other crying out for more help; and we go to the Old Land in preference to any other country, because we think that stock is the best to introduce into this land. What do we meet with there? We meet with every other Colony competing for the same article. We meet there agents from Australia, for instance, who say to a man and his family: "We will take you to Australia, put you down on a farm, that farm will have a house and barn, implements and stock, and it will not cost you one cent, now, and you will have from thirty to forty years to pay for it."

That is competition which is pretty hard to meet. They are not all offering these inducements, but they are coming pretty close to it. There is not a great surplus of agricultural labour in the Old Land—changes have been taking place there similar to what we have had in this country. You will find here large areas formerly given over to the growing of corn now given up to hay and pasture, and the farm-hands drifting away, as a consequence, to the towns and cities. Figures show that there are 1,000,000 people less working on the land in the Old Country to-day than there were thirty to forty years ago. So the class of people we want most are not anxious to come out here, and they are the very people the Old Country wants and is trying to keep, and the very class of people that South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and the States are anxious for and are offering the most flattering inducements to. There is a great big question there, and I would like to lay before you the issues involved in that; we are endeavouring to develop the natural resources of the Province of Ontario. To do that we must have people—we must have people of the right sort—we must locate them and distribute them where they can develop and where we can educate them and train them.

If we bring 10,000 people from the British Isles and locate them in Ontario, either in Old or New Ontario, we add that 10,000 to our population. If we send them into Northern Ontario, we have got to build colonization roads for them, and it costs much more to administer law and furnish schools; and with that comes the location and development of the people on the land or in towns and cities, all of which costs money; and as we increase the people, and as we make them more efficient—so that they can earn more and spend more—the result is that up goes the financial revenue of the Dominion Government, but that not a cent goes into the coffers of the local or Provincial Government! Everything that a Provincial Government does along the line of education, along the line of colonization, along the line of equipment, is simply placing, so to speak, a heavier burden upon its own resources. Now, there are some Provinces struggling even more than Ontario along these lines—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and parts of the Province of Quebec—all have these same problems.

It is essential from a national standpoint that our lands—these cheap fertile lands—should be occupied, and that they should be occupied by people of good British stock who can be trained and developed along the best lines, so that they will become most efficient.

These needs are largely met and managed by the Provincial Government, but they require money, and it would seem to be in the best interest of Canada as a whole if, in some way or other, the Dominion and Provincial Governments could co-operate so that the funds of the one could be utilized by the other in this very important work. In short, the Dominion has the money—the Provinces the facilities. Now, if we look to the development of Canada as a whole, it ought to be possible in some way to develop a line of work whereby our great natural resources could be developed; and, particularly, help given to the people who are developing these resources in their equipment for carrying on that work. We are proud, sometimes over-proud, of the natural resources of our country; sometimes perhaps we over-estimate the great resources of this Province and of the Western Provinces. Whatever mistakes we may make along those lines, there is no question that above all the natural resources of Canada, whether of timber, lands or mines, the greatest are the men, women and children who occupy the country.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE AND TARIFF REFORM.

An Address by Mr. J. Ellis Barker, British Author, Journalist and Publicist, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 2, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

My address is entitled "Imperial Defence and Tariff Reform," because, in my opinion, Imperial defence and tariff reform are very intimately co-related and connected. The first instinct in individuals and in nations is the instinct of self-preservation. You require defence of your person, of your house, of your family, of your nation. You want to defend your traditions, your possessions, and your liberty. The British Empire is unique in the world in this: that it is an Empire which was founded by men who rode the sea in ships, and it is the only Empire at the present moment which is essentially a naval and maritime empire. There have been such empires in the past from the time of Phœnicia down to the Empire of Great Britain. If you will run through ancient history, beginning with Phœnicia and Carthage and going then westerly with the trend of civilization towards ancient Greece and the great Italian republics, you will find that empire after empire has arisen from the seas; and it has risen mainly by mercantile, naval and maritime ability, by the ability of the merchant, coupled with the strength of a navy able to defend the outposts of the empire and the motherland.

The characteristic of all mercantile empires has been this: that they have been made extremely vulnerable by the sea; that this fact has made necessary a large navy; and the British Empire is no exception to the rule. If you look at all the great empires on the European continent, you will find that the great towns are lying inland as a rule. Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rome, all these towns lie inland. If you look at the British Empire you will find in England that all the big towns lie on the sea, and the same thing is seen in Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. The big towns in the Colonies were for long simply magnified trading stations. The trading station is put at a point where there is a good harbour and security against attack, and gradually the trading station has grown and grown until it became a New York in one place or one of the other big towns in the present Colonies. The avenue which connects the various towns of the Motherland is the sea. Therefore, the Colonies and Great Britain have this in common: they can be defended only on the sea.

To defend yourself against an attack from the sea and against the possibility of your great oversea trade being cut off, you require a strong navy. The sea is between. You cannot have, as you can in continental states, a big army which protects one part and another big army which protects another part. You must have a navy of overwhelming strength if you want to defend a naval empire. If you look into the history of the maritime states you will find they have all fallen because they neglected their fleets. The Dutch were the wealthiest nation in the world in the middle ages or in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Down to 1650 the Dutch were by far the wealthiest nation in the world. They had three-fourths of the maritime trade, the English had to send their goods in Dutch ships to their own possessions, they were the greatest manufacturers in the world. They were the greatest traders, the greatest colonizers, and the greatest bankers. The wealth of the world was in their pockets.

The Dutch financed all the countries in the world, and in the seventeenth century 2½ per cent. Dutch stock was quoted above par. Such was their wealth, but they neglected their navy! England was poor and ambitious, and, under Cromwell, the English struck at the Dutch fleet, which had been neglected, and colony after colony was lost to the Dutch. New York used to be called New Amsterdam. If you look at Australasia, you will find New Zealand called after the Province of Zealand in Holland. The Dutch Empire fell to the ground, and the Netherlands, which was the greatest state in the world, is now perhaps on the point of extinction. It is now a small but still nominally independent state, and the time may come, say, in a hundred years, when even the Dutch language may have disappeared.

Canada is very fortunately situated in this, that the danger of invasion seems a small one. If you have lived in the interior of Canada you may occasionally have heard something like this: "The United States mean well with us, Japan will scarcely attack us, England will protect us. We need no defence." I think such talk is very short-sighted. Philanthropists and unpractical men measure the danger of attack by sizing up their potential or possible means of resistance. I think that is a mistake which we do not make in private life. If you have a house, you arrange the strength of your front-door and of your shutters, not in accordance with the character of your neighbor, but in accordance with the value of your possessions. I have travelled through a very large number of countries but I have found universally that the strongest front-doors and the strongest shutters are found in the houses of the wealthiest men and the wealthiest shopkeepers!

You cannot improvise an army, you cannot improvise a navy. You can improvise an army to a certain extent if you have enough rifles in the country. If every man in Canada has a rifle of his own, which he uses at your rifle ranges and occasional manœuvres and that kind of thing, you will be able to hold your own on land for some length of time if your people have the proper spirit. Rifles, a sufficiency of cartridges, and the warlike spirit which the Canadians showed in 1812 and which they will show again if need be, may be sufficient to defend your land. Now, you cannot improvise a navy. A navy is a desperately costly thing. Sailors you can create in almost any nation which is of warlike inclination. I believe the Dutch are excellent sailors. I believe the Germans and many other warlike nations will make just as good sailors as the English or almost as good sailors. So far, England has won many wars through the excellence of her sailors and the excellence of her admirals. But you cannot always count upon meeting an inferior class of sailors and inferior admirals. You cannot guarantee that Great Britain will always have a Nelson to fight her battles. As the security of the ocean is vital to you, you must be sure to have a fleet of overwhelming strength. Now, whether you have a fleet of overwhelming strength or not depends, after all, on money, because the longest purse can pay for the strongest fleet, and every nation of warlike inclinations can always provide a good sort of man to man their ships.

The security of the British Empire is largely, as I have said, a question of the purse. Now, unfortunately, the position is at present this: that Great Britain finds it from year to year harder, financially, to defend the British Empire. It was right and proper that Great Britain should defend the Colonies single-handed when the Colonies were mere trading stations which were used in part for the aggrandisement and enrichment of the Motherland, but that time has passed. The little trading stations have grown into powerful nations, and Great Britain finds it more and more difficult from year to year to defend herself financially. Great Britain has forty-five million inhabitants, Germany has sixty-five millions, and the United States has almost one hundred millions. The wealth of Germany is considerably greater, and that of the United States is very considerably greater than that of Great Britain. Not only is the wealth greater of Germany and the United States, but you will find by a large number of official publications, to which I won't refer for the moment, but to which I can refer you, that not only has Great Britain to provide more money in taxes, but that she has to provide more money from a smaller number of people—consequently the weight of taxation is greater on Great Britain's people than on any other people. Not only that, but countries like Germany or the United States, which are chiefly continental, have not many foreign possessions to defend, at least their defence is not of vital importance, but Great Britain must scatter her defences all over the world, and for that reason she must not only provide a larger number of ships than her opponents, but coaling stations, etc., as well. She must scatter her forces; Germany and the United States can concentrate theirs.

Now, the wealth of Great Britain has either been shrinking or it has not been increasing at a sufficient rate, and it has been shrinking largely because of Free Trade. I put forward the proposition that ten years ago Great

Britain was living on her capital and has been living on it since. It, of course, depends upon what you mean by living on one's capital. Great Britain has been living on her capital in the way in which any one of you might live on your capital. If any one of you inherited from your father a street full of houses in Toronto, and if every year you sold one of these houses and the remaining houses increased in value with the growth of Toronto until they were worth more than the whole street was worth when you inherited the property from your father, you might say: "I am much richer now than when I got that property from my father." But you had been living on your capital because the principle of selling part of one's investments cannot be continued indefinitely. Now Great Britain has been making money in some ways and has been losing money in tremendous amounts in other ways, and the loss of money in other ways is going on very rapidly, whilst the accumulation of money has come almost to a standstill. Agriculture has been undoubtedly ruined by free trade and I want to dwell on agriculture for a little while, because Canada is an agricultural country, and perhaps the farmers in the West and here in Ontario may be interested in what I have to say.

The British trading statistics relating to agriculture don't go as far back as the introduction of free trade in 1845. They only go back to 1873. Please take note how the acreage of all the different crops has shrunk since 1873. In 1873 there were under wheat 3,670,000 acres; in 1908, 1,664,000; a shrinkage of over two million acres; The barley shrinkage was from 2,574,000 acres to 1,824,000 acres, or 750,000 acres; oats showed a shrinkage of 9,000 acres, and there was a shrinkage of 401,000 acres in beans; peas, 157,000 acres; potatoes, 264,000 acres; turnips and swedes, 641,000 acres. There is here a total shrinkage of 4,222,000 acres in corn and vegetable crops alone. Then you have an enormous shrinkage in other things. What effect has this enormous shrinkage in acreage had upon employment? The number of agricultural labourers in England and Wales decreased between 1851 and 1901 by more than half a million; that in Scotland by 70,000; that in Ireland from 850,000 to 212,000—less than one-fourth. So you see considerably more than a million agricultural labourers with their wives and children were cleared off the land, and another million who provided for them as carpenters, builders, implement makers, cobblers, tailors, etc., were also cleared off the land. Two million families or ten million people were thus cleared off the land by the introduction of food from abroad. Now, England was once in the happy position that the people driven off the land could go into the factories in the towns. You have very few factories and very few manufacturing towns here, comparatively speaking. You are chiefly an agricultural country. You are in similar position in that respect to Ireland when free trade was introduced in 1846.

Now let us cast a glance at free trade in Ireland because that is a better precedent, perhaps, for your guidance than England. Ireland had a very prosperous agriculture. She furnished her own people and she exported between 1805 and 1845 constantly growing quantities of foodstuffs. The exports increased from 306,000 quarters in 1805 to 3,352,000 quarters in 1845, an increase of eleven times as much in 1845. Now three million quarters are sufficient to nourish something like three or four million people. In 1845 Ireland had 9,000,000 inhabitants, approximately. She exported for about three million people and provided food for about twelve million people. Free trade was introduced and the agricultural land was rapidly abandoned. In 1847—those are the first figures I can get —Ireland's acreage under wheat was 744,000 acres, and in 1909 her acreage was 43,600 acres, or one single twentieth of her former acreage. Nineteen-twentieths of her acreage under wheat was lost through free trade. Oats shrank from 2,200,000 to 1,035,000 acres. Her population decreased from nine millions in 1845 to 4,364,226. Meanwhile Ireland developed large manufacturing industries, shipbuilding yards at Belfast, linen and that kind of thing. If it were not for that the population of Ireland would probably have decreased to one-fourth, instead of one-third, of what she had when free trade was introduced.

Now, the emigration from Ireland! You know all about that. Millions and millions have been driven over sea. In this way England has been living largely on her capital, not only taking its capital but agricultural resources, because money is not everything in individuals as a nation. If you want to know what the losses have been you will find that the Commission on Agriculture in 1890 computed that since 1873 more than $5,000,000,000 had been lost in twenty-five years, and the loss was afterwards estimated to be $10,000,000,000. That is a sum three times as large as the National Debt of England, or five times as large as the capital value of all your 30,000 miles of railways in Canada, a loss which is equal to 120,000 miles of railway, all wiped out by the blessings of free trade! And you can measure it not only by the loss of money. You can take your land and cultivate it and grow things where very little grows now, but the great loss in capital, which cannot be so easily replaced has been the destruction and the deterioration of the national physique through driving ten million people out of the country.

Free trade means an enormous loss in productive power. We have in England a people that have raised children and presented the grown-up children *gratis* as producers to the United States and other countries. The potential value of a grown-up colonist is supposed to be $300. Now, you have ten million people who have left the country. Multiply $300 by ten million and you have a loss of $3,000,000,000. Just imagine. that is one loss. Then there is the loss in national physique. The deterioration of the national physique is evident to any one who goes to England and sees the people of the slums. It is only natural that when you have almost nine-tenths of the population crowded into the towns and unable to go to the country for any length of time, that physique must deteriorate; and there you have a permanent cause of injury in Great Britain. Perhaps the few words I have said to you will be a warning to those people who look at national affairs purely from the point of view of pounds, shillings and pence or dollars and cents.

Imperial defence and tariff reform go hand in hand, I think, in this way, that tariff reform will provide very largely for future financial requirements; I mean the requirements of the immediate future in naval defence. Great Britain is gradually bleeding to death financially; it is gradually becoming exhausted. The Colonies cannot help much, as yet, because their money has to be devoted to their own development. Therefore, Great Britain has, in the first instance, to look after the naval defence of the Empire herself, and she will be able to finance her fleet very largely by the increase of revenue, direct or indirect, which will be caused by tariff reform. You are interested as much in tariff reform as Great Britain herself because if Great Britain grows too poor to adequately provide for her navy you must either do it yourselves or must be prepared for Canada to fall into the hands of one or the other of those nations who are anxious and eager to increase their territory at other people's cost.

Put yourself for a moment in the place of the man in the interior of Canada who says, "No one threatens us." Put yourself in the place of the Japanese or Germans, the Germans on one side with the central European nations as well, and the Japanese on the other side of the world, and both living in over-populated countries. Everywhere population is rapidly increasing, and the means of subsistence are gradually shrinking and they cast longing eyes to countries where they can go to. In the middle, between Japan and the over-populated countries of the East and Germany with the other over-populated European nations—right in the middle is marked Canada and the United States. It is only natural that patriotic Japanese and patriotic Germans, or patriotic Austrians or Frenchmen, should say, "Why should we be crammed and crowded in our narrow possessions when these few millions in America hold vast lands sufficient to nourish 1,000,000,000 of people?" It is perfectly conceivable, and it is, to my mind natural that the tension existing between people of Europe will relax at some future date, perhaps earlier than you may imagine. The nations of Europe may say to themselves, "We are fools, we are forming armed camps and watching one another whilst the Anglo-Saxon people are conquering the whole earth."

Therefore, I say, provide against danger, not by sizing up the character of your possible opponent, but by taking stock of your immensely valuable property and of the less valuable properties around you and the possibility that one day some one will wish to possess your property. And, gentlemen, think of this, that your interests and the interests of Great Britain are inextricably interwoven. Great Britain is not merely your banker. You have not only to defend your cash-box. In defending Great Britain you defend at the same time the citadel and naval base of the British Empire, you defend your own liberty, you defend your own fleet, and help in the defence of that small outpost which protects you against the over crowded nations of Europe.

BRITISH POLITICS AND RECIPROCITY.

An Address by Mr. A. C. Pratt, M.L.A., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 9, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I have been asked to-day to give some of my impressions of the recent British elections and then, from the viewpoint perhaps of an Imperialist, to say something as to Reciprocity. Well, sir, the impression which struck me most forcibly when I landed in Great Britain was the extreme rapidity and suddenness with which they plunged from dissolution to voting at the polls—locked in combat the day the House dissolves with the election on in a surprisingly short time. Another thing which impressed me was the fact that notwithstanding the long-drawn-out fight, I never went to a single constituency where they fought the issue with any thought or regard for the preceding election or the surrounding ones. For instance, in this country, if we hold a general election, and a bye-election is held a week later, the bye-election invariably swings toward the winning party. It seems characteristic here, but over there it is entirely different. Every single constituency fights its battles on the issues, clear-cut, and it does not make any difference apparently to the British voter if 99 out of every 100 goes against his personal views; he goes out and polls his vote on the issue that confronts him. Now that is an exceedingly good thing, and it wonderfully impressed me in Great Britain.

Another thing that impressed me was the type of men in public life in Great Britain. I was amazed, sir, at the public spirit, the wonderful ability, the self-abnegation of the public men I found on both sides of politics in Britain—men who have ideals, intense ideals, and so thoroughly do those ideals possess them, that I know of young men giving up their lives, working almost day and night, and spending their fortunes, on what they believe to be issues that are for the good of their country. Remember this, gentlemen, that the politician, the member of Parliament in old Britain receives no pay—he is under great expense.

I was also greatly interested in the fact that on every platform on which I stood there was the wonderfully straight type of statesmen that you find in politics in good old Britain.

Another thing that vividly impressed me was the fact that it is the issue in Great Britain rather than the man. Now imagine, if you can, an Englishman or Scotchman coming to this country to contest a seat—it is ridiculous—it is absurd to us, because we are of a different make-up. In England it is not the man at all, but the issue—the question he represents; and, as a consequence, I want to say to you that Canadians in Great Britain to-day are absolutely welcomed in political life, and there is the greatest kindness and consideration given to every Canadian. He may enter politics there without any fear or thought that it will be thrown up at him that he is an "outsider," and this is abundantly exemplified in the record of such men as Hamar Greenwood, Sir Gilbert Parker, Donald McMaster, Hon. Joseph Martin, Max Aitken, and Bonar Law, and the great many others I might mention. They are growing every year—growing rapidly—and just let me interject here that there is probably no man so welcome, and whose name is so well known to the British electorate as our own Bonar Law.

When he went to the north, to Lancashire, to issue a challenge to Winston Churchill on the enemy's own ground over the question of Tariff Reform, I tell you it touched the core of the British heart. Mention his name and there is not a hostile word throughout the country. Perhaps I am wrong, but my own belief is that when the day comes that Mr. Balfour or some other Unionist forms his Cabinet, I will not be surprised if Bonar Law has a place in that Cabinet, and has a very active part in framing the policy of the Tariff Reform party, if it is ever adopted. Now that is characteristic of the electors over there. They want to think out the issues for themselves and, so far as I could judge, and I had the opportunity of forming an opinion, no matter where you went this thing impressed me, that the British elector looks upon the franchise as his inalienable right, and he is going to use it at the polls—whether he has a great deal of influence, or whether he is poor, the result is the same.

You can go before any audience you like, it does not matter who, the Prime Minister, Asquith, Balfour, Winston Churchill, no matter who, or where you may speak, if the audience does not agree with you, you must expect to have numerous interruptions, and stand some heckling, because the British elector claims it as his right to ask questions and to insist upon those questions being answered. They must not be hedged or dodged, but answered straight to the man that asks them. Sometimes you are heckled, sometimes you are annoyed, sometimes you are very uncomfortable, you may be asked some very troublesome questions, but that is the institution. They play fair though. But you must answer the questions, and if you can't, why, say so; that is all right, but you must not try to avoid them. That is one thing that warms a Canadian's heart, their British fair play. They will tell you to your face if they don't like you, and sometimes if they do like you.

I might tell you of an experience down in Deptford, East London, where Mr. A. W. Wright, whom many of you know, and myself, were to speak to a hostile audience. Just in front was a young German in working clothes. I spoke first, and he was most persistent with me, and I think if he asked me one question he asked me twenty-five. Stuart Coates followed, and he did not let up at all on him. Then Mr. Wright came on, and he persisted in annoying him. After standing his heckling for some time, Mr. Wright said to him: "My friend, you seem to be a very enthusiastic Free-trader," and he said, "I am." "It will surprise you when I tell you that neither your father nor mother are Free-traders," said Mr. Wright. "They are," said the heckler. Mr. Wright insisted they were not, to which the German replied: "My father is just as enthusiastic a Free-trader as myself, and I got it from him." "They were not Free-traders, and I can prove it to you," said Mr. Wright. "To-day I got a German shave from a German barber and I talked German with him, and think I could talk German with you, and that barber told me that for the last two years he had been settled in London, and it did not cost the city or the country a penny to get that adult German barber! Statistics show that it costs £300 pounds to raise a child from infancy to the adult stage. Now, if your father and mother had been absolute Free-traders they would have imported a grown-up German and thrown you away when you were born!" You may surmise that from that time on this German kept discreetly quiet. I could tell you a number of similar instances, but time will not permit.

Now regarding the issues involved over there. I take a very peculiar view, perhaps, about some of them. I am not greatly concerned about the Lords' question; frankly I am not at all greatly concerned. Great Britain in her day has faced sterner problems, and there never has come a time that a problem has arisen when that good Old Land has not raised up a man to easily and nicely meet that problem, face it and settle it. The Lords themselves agree that reform is necessary, the Unionists declare it necessary, the Radicals declare that reform must come, and some of the extremists, like Keir Hardie, and possibly Lloyd-George, though I will not say positively about him, would have the House of Lords abolished. But I don't believe the time will ever come when a single-chamber Government will prevail. The House of Lords will work out their own reform quietly in their own way, and I am quite satisfied they will work it out without any great difference of opinion.

Over here in Canada we do not get exactly the right viewpoint about this question of the peers and the people. Sometimes you read Mile-end speeches and you get the idea that British politics are absolutely wrong, when you read such statements as that not a Radical measure can get through the House of Lords. That has been trumped up and, as an actual fact, of 247 bills sent to the House of Lords 6 have been rejected—not a very serious matter; and the people, the voters of Britain, realize that this question is going to be settled in the right way. So with the Home Rule question—they will settle it in their own time. But the one great outstanding question which must attract the attention of any person who goes through that country with his eyes open, is the labour problem—300,000 paupers died there in a year in abject poverty and without enough to bury them. You cannot help realizing, as you go through the country and see these things, that something is not right, that some change has got to come. I think that tariff reform will work a partial solution, and just here I will give you a little story.

I was in conversation with a young man I happened to meet, a representative of Park Brothers, big meat importers of Liverpool. John Park, the elder brother, came across on the *Lusitania* the other day and we got well acquainted. Park Bros. import 10,000 to 50,000 carcases of lambs per week, and import beef by the shipload, and they found it absolutely necessary, in order to meet their demands, to go to the Argentine and make contracts. John Park made contracts with five of the largest ranches there to take their entire output, and he was to get his meat at advantageous prices, on a five-year contract, providing the ranches were not sold. They distributed the meat for a time and realized advantageous prices for the British consumers, and did a splendid business. Then the wealthy firm of Swift and Armour invaded Great Britain and began competition, but found that Park Bros. could undersell them. So Swift & Co. sent an agent to the Argentine and they purchased the five ranches from which Park Bros. received their supply. Then came the notice: "Kindly consider that at the termination of this year you can buy no more meat from the Argentine Republic." John Park crossed the Atlantic, went to Chicago and was the guest of the great Meat Trust. They took him to dinner, and he told me it was the greatest dinner he ever had in his life, and if it cost a cent it cost $50.00; then they said to him, "Mr. Park, we like you. We have the profoundest regard for you, we love you Britishers, but you cannot buy any meat from us—you are in direct competition, and we have got our agents all through Britain selling meat at inspiring prices." Do you know what Park Bros. are going to do this year (John Park has been in Toronto for the last two weeks and sailed on the *Mauritania* the other day); they are going to close up shop this coming Christmas because the American Meat Trust makes it absolutely impossible to do business within their own country.

Will you tell me in the face of this one instance, of which there are dozens, that tariff reform is not a great need for Great Britain? Would it not be a good thing for Park Bros? Would it not be a better thing for the people who buy their meat if they had competition there? For a moment let me read a little item I have in my hand: "Canada acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted to this Union." Is that an extract from a recent speech of President Taft? I will tell you. It is an extract from the first Constitution of the United States, and for over 135 years, gentlemen, the United States have never wavered an eyelash from the belief that one of these days they would plant Canada as a star in their banner. For over 135 years that has been in their constitution, and it has been their aim and belief that one day this Continent would be all United States.

Let me touch history here if you will—in history there is no politics. When England was shaken to her very core, when she was struggling to keep her head above water, fighting the battles of the nations of the world against Napoleon, the United States thought it was a good and opportune time to write the star of "Canada" upon her banner. She invaded us, but Britain in all her stress, sent her ships and her men here to help us maintain our national integrity. The United States have harboured our enemies and permitted them to cross the borders; they have fomented sedition against us within her borders; they have built strong tariff walls to protect their own industries—with the hope that they would compel overtures from us; and the only reason they are not doing it at this present moment is because they have learned that "Molasses will catch more flies than vinegar."

In my humble opinion we are getting a mild application of molasses, and have been getting it for some time. (Voice—"Give it to them!") No! God forbid that I should "give it to them." I want to live in peace and amity with the people to the south. But, my God, gentlemen, I was born a Canadian. I want to live and die a Canadian! I love Canada, I imbibed this feeling from my mother's breast. I love the British Constitution and this great Empire of 450,000,000 people, of which we are no small part. I want to tell you I got a reception within recent weeks in England and Scotland that could not help but touch the heart of any man—the love that those people have for us—the wonderful love. I had one dear old woman, 80 years of age, wait in the corridors in Edinburgh till I came out, in order that she might tell me how much she loved this country, and to say what a shame it was that they could not give our country the preference we would like in return for what we had given them. Everywhere I went there was absolutely an outpouring of affection and love for this Canada of ours.

Now we are face to face with a question, perhaps the most serious since Federation, yea, since the making of our constitution. The American census returns show that in the Southern States there are 10 millions of negroes. Let me tell you why the fruit men and the vegetable men are protesting. I will not give you my own words, but will quote from the "Saturday Evening Post," which you will all admit is most careful and conservative. Yet in a recent editorial here is what appeared: "A considerable portion of the negro population are so low in the industrial scale as to give a very fair imitation of pauper labour." Now, sir, we are facing a situation where we are thrown into direct competition with a population of negroes of the lowest type of civilization, casual workers, greater than our own population in Canada to-day, perhaps, in direct competition with us. But I cannot go into it or I could show how their vegetables and fruits would interfere with our markets, woefully interfere with them.

There is also this issue. We have spent millions in transcontinental lines—we have three of them practically crossing this continent; we have subsidized them so that we might have reciprocity from province to province, and trade from the East to the West. We have built our canals and subsidized steamship lines to swing the trade East and West so that our brothers in Regina, Sask., and our brothers in Halifax, Nova Scotia, might all be one great unit. Sir, can you tell me one single instance in the history of this old world; go back if you like to the days of Greece and Rome, to the days of Carthage; tell me one single instance in British history where the "flag follows trade" and not "trade follows the flag?" Show me all the advantages you want, show me the "mess of pottage" if you like, be it ever so tempting and ever so rich, but if we are by any chance to exchange our birthright for this, then for God's sake let us serve in any capacity as Canadians—in the streets if you will—rather than live in the tents of the United States. (Loud and continued applause.)

They have got their problems there, domestic, social, and political problems; their divorce question, and I was taught in my schoolboy days that "Evil communications corrupt good manners." All these things we would have to face—their divorces, their unwritten law, their lynchings, their negro problem, their great trusts, for we need not expect them to be any more considerate of us here in Canada than of our brethren in Liverpool, if we permit them to establish themselves here.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that I hope the time will never come when it will be said that Canada was the first to break the "roll-call of that British drum that today beats around the world." I hope, trust and pray, that whatever may be done we may maintain within our borders our Canadian spirit. If there must be any change made, surely, surely it is possible for the United States to indicate their belief, their faith in the wisdom of that change, by putting their tariff on a parity with ours, thus permitting us to go to them in a dignified and self-respecting manner. For 15 years we have been self-supporting. We have been growing, it may be slowly, but steadily. To-day when we are hearty and strong, shall we look over our shoulder at the Motherland, with her great problems on her hands and, when she needs us more than ever before, calmly turn our back on her and say that there are dollars to be gained across the border? Shall our love and filial duty count for nothing? Is that the type of men Canada is made up of to-day? If so, as Canadians, we should blush for shame at the ingratitude we should show the Motherland across the sea.

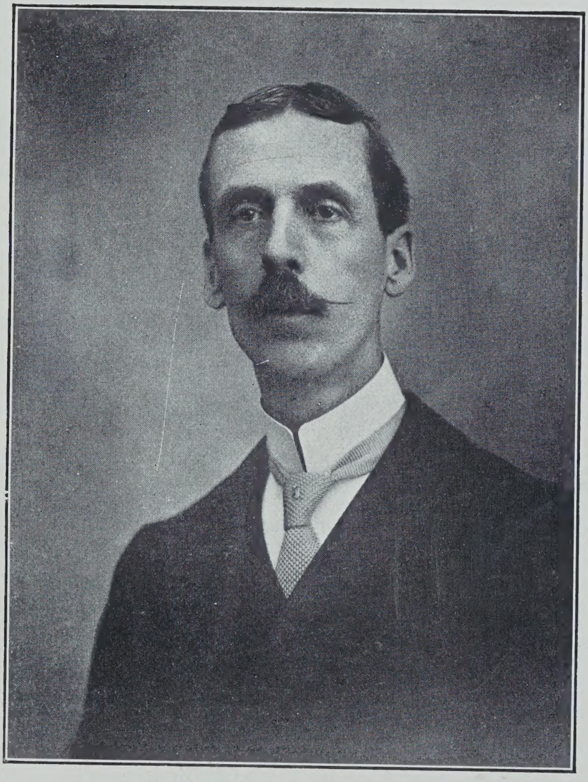
THE OREGON BOUNDARY QUESTION.

An Address by Mr. James White, F.R.G.S., Secretary of the Dominion Commission on Conservation, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 16, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I have selected as my subject the Oregon Boundary question, that is, the extension of our boundaries from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific Ocean. In dealing with this question in the brief time I propose to allow myself it will be possible for me only to touch upon the most prominent points in connection therewith.

The Treaty of 1783, which was the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, extended the boundary to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, and from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods the Treaty stated it was to go due west to the source of the Mississippi; this of course was due to the erroneous map that the negotiators had before them. However, when a survey showed that the source of the Mississippi, instead of being due west, was actually due south, they passed over the former negotiations, and in 1803 a Treaty was entered into extending the boundary by a straight line from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods to the source of the Mississippi. This Convention was not confirmed by the United States Senate as, only two weeks before it was signed, the Louisiana Treaty with France conveyed to the United States the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. The attitude of the United States immediately changed, and the Senate refused to ratify the British arrangement unless the Article respecting the boundaries was struck out. Great Britain refused to accept the amendment but, in 1806, the British Commissioners—doubtless acting under an erroneous belief respecting the Treaty of Utrecht—proposed the 49th parallel as the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains. The United States Commissioners accepted



MR. JAMES WHITE, F.R.G.S.

this proposal, and it was embodied in the treaty as an additional Article. This Treaty, however, for an extrinsic reason, was not submitted to the United States Senate.

During the negotiations for the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, the British negotiators again endeavoured to have the 49th parallel to the Rockies accepted as the boundary, but as the proposal was coupled with a stipulation for free access to, and navigation of the Mississippi, the United States negotiators refused to incorporate these articles in the Treaty and the matter therefore was postponed. In 1818 the Fisheries Treaty—so prominently brought before us at the Hague Tribunal—dealing with the great question of fisheries and boundaries in the West was settled. That Treaty fixed upon the boundary between the United States and Canada as the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. That Treaty was negotiated under a complete misunderstanding. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 provided for the appointment of Commissaries to determine "the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French." The Commissaries were unable to come to an agreement—the British Commissaries stood for the 49th parallel from a point somewhere near Lake Mistassini and from there westward. Unfortunately the British geographers, assuming that this line would be adopted, put it on their maps with a note that it was the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. The result of the indication of this erroneous boundary on the maps was the general belief that this line had actually been agreed upon.

The negotiators of the Treaty of 1818 were unable to come to an agreement with regard to the boundary beyond the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and this is the territory with which I am dealing particularly to-day—this territory which was known during the dispute as the Oregon territory, as you see here on the map. It included the whole of British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and a small portion of Montana, and involved an area of about 400,000 square miles. During the negotiations Great Britain offered to accept as a settlement the 49th parallel to the summit of the Rocky Mountains—which is the present eastern boundary of British Columbia—to the Columbia River and thence following the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, which would leave in the United States all the territory lying to the east and south of the Columbia River. This the United States negotiators refused to accept. However it was eventually agreed that this territory should be free and open to the subjects of both nations. There were other things in the negotiations which we can pass over, but down to 1841 the whole territory was really in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Co. It had then a population of about 400 white people, all of whom were in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Co., or connected with it.

Reverting to the negotiations, I may say that the two nations based their claims upon the following contention: Great Britain claimed by virtue of discovery. In 1778 Cook had made a fairly accurate survey of the coast; in 1792 Vancouver had made an accurate survey of the coast; also Meares, a British fur-trader, but trading under Portuguese colours, established a fur-trading post on what is now called Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Spaniards seized his vessels and Great Britain immediately protested this procedure and, as a result of the Notka Convention of 1790, Spain thereby acknowledged that Great Britain had equal rights of settlement on the west coast, north of the portion setled by Spain—practically the northern boundary of California. Great Britain also claimed possession by virtue of occupation by the British subjects I have already referred to as connected with the Hudson's Bay Coy. The United States claimed by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase. The Louisiana purchase as a basis for their claim was absolutely no ground. The grant of Louisiana to De Crozat, which afterward formed what was called the Louisiana Territory, was exclusively confined to the territory drained into the Gulf of Mexico. They also claimed that by virtue of the Treaty of 1819, Spain had transferred to them all the claims that she had on that territory. They also claimed by virtue of the fact that Gray in his ship *Columbia* had discovered that the Columbia was a river. They claimed that on the ground that in 1811 the Pacific Fur Company—the head of which was Mr. Astor, an ancestor of the present well known family in New York—had established at the head of the Columbia River a post which he called "Astoria." A few years afterwards this post was sold to the North West Fur Co, and became a British possession.

As I have already mentioned, up to 1841, practically the whole population was British, but in that year a tide of immigraion set in and as a result, in 1846, there were about 7,500 people in the territory south of the 49th parallel, of whom only 400 were British. In 1841 McLaughlin, who was Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company on the cost, had joined the provisional Government. That Government was composed mostly of subjects of the United States, and in this dispute, Great Britain vs. the United States, it should be born in mind that Great Britain was really the Hudson's Bay Company. At that time no person in their wildest dreams ever expected Canada to extend to the Pacific Ocean. No one thought much of Canada except as a fur-trading territory. The action of McLaughlin in joining the Provisional Government fatally compromised the Company, and although there is no official confirmation of it, I have no doubt in my own mind that this was the reason that decided them to no longer hold on to this territory, which was so strongly pro-United States.

I might say that McLaughlin, considered as a Christian man, as a humane man, was all that could be desired, but from the view-point of the Hudson's Bay Co., he was not "the right man in the right place." These Americans came there and arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company posts starving and almost without clothes to their backs, or shoes to their feet. McLaughlin supplied them with clothing, fed them till spring, then gave them plows and in fact everything they required to start them, and let them settle in the land. Had a man like Sir James Douglas been in command, there is no doubt in the world he would have fed them in the winter, but in the spring he would have put them on board one of the Hudson's Bay Company vessels and sent them to the land from whence they came, and that would have ended the matter. McLaughlin was charged up with $30,000 by the Hudson's Bay Company, which he had given out to these people, and which they had never paid back; it took all his property to do this, and he died practically penniless.

It was finally settled between the United States and Great Britain to take the 49th parallel to the Pacific Ocean, thence through the middle of the channel that divides Vancouver Island from the Mainland, and this is the line as you have it to-day. The effect of the Treaty, was of course, to end the dispute, which had been very acute at times, having brought the two nations to the verge of war repeatedly. It was not, possibly, the settlement we would have preferred, but a settlement, considering things as they were then, I think the Home Government was well advised in making.

The claims of both nations were based largely upon discovery, but after all that does not count for very much, for in the last analysis the strongest title, as with a private owner, is Occupation. We must acknowledge that the British were outnumbered 17 or 18 to one, and that the Americans had the best title by virtue of occupation. It has been said that had this matter been delayed we might have fared better, but with that statement I cannot agree, for had this settlement been delayed until a few years later when gold was discovered on the Fraser River in the Cariboo country (1859-61), and there was such an enormous influx of Americans, the whole of the country, including the present British Columbia, would have passed to the United States by virtue of occupation.

* * *

The aftermath of the Treaty came in a dispute respecting the identity of the "channel which divides the mainland from Vancouver's Island." This is the famous "San Juan" controversy, which some of the older members here to-day will remember. This map shows the

United States contention, and a red line shows the British contention, and a yellow line shows the compromise line offered by Great Britain, but refused by the United States. Great difficulty was experienced in settling this question owing to the strong feeling which followed the Civil War in the United States. As you are aware, there was then a very strong feeling in the States against Great Britain. However, in 1869, a Convention was concluded providing for arbitration by the President of Switzerland, but the Senate failed to take any action. In 1871, an attempt was made to settle the question by the Joint High Commission, but without success, the American Commissioners declining the British offer of the compromise line. By the Treaty of Washington, however, the respective claims were submitted to the arbitration and award of the Emperor of Germany, and, in 1872, the Arbitrator rendered an award in favour of the United States contention for Haro Strait .

Regarding the matter from the point of view of the Emperor of Germany I have no hesitation in saying it was the only decision he could come to; and when I say that, of course, it must be borne in mind that the Emperor of Germany did not in any way consider the question—the matter was referred to the legal officials of the Crown and it was upon their report his decision was based—as to whether the channel had to go down the Rosaria Strait or the Canal de Haro. The United States contended that the Canal de Haro was the widest and deepest channel; that it was the one usually shown on the maps in 1846; and that, as it washed the shore of Vancouver Island, it was the channel that "separated it" from the mainland. The British contention was that the wording of the Treaty provided first, that the channel should separate the mainland from Vancouver Island; second, that the boundary should go through it in a "southerly" direction; and third, that it should be navigable. They contended that while the Canal de Haro was navigable, all three requirements were satisfied by Rosaria Strait only, and that the latter had been used by the Hudson's Bay Company since 1825. The British Commissioner quoted certain United States maps in support of this, but the United States impugned the accuracy of one of the maps and the official character of another, and quoted a British map in support of their view.

During this dispute, an American settler on San Juan Island, near the Hudson's Bay Company post, killed one of the Company's hogs. This hog was in the habit of routing in the American's garden, and one day in his exasperation the latter killed the hog by shooting it. He offered to settle, but when they asked $100 for the hog he refused to pay the price, and the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company threatened to arrest the American and take him to Victoria for trial; which the United States Government being appealed to, resented, and they landed troops on the island. General Harney ordered up United States troops and Sir James Douglas sent a British man-of-war from Victoria, and as soon as this vessel arrived and the officer saw the state of affairs on the island another man-of-war was asked for. Meanwhile the troops arrived in charge of a man named Casey, and after protest they were landed. Everything was ready for hostilities, and there is no doubt war would have been precipitated by General Harney and some of his "fire-eating" officers, had Sir James Douglas' ensuing order to Admiral Baynes to land British troops been carried out. Although Admiral Baynes knew what disobeying orders usually meant, he refused to act, for which he was afterwards complimented by the British Government. Had it not been for his action, or inaction, there is no doubt the troops of Great Britain and those of the United States would have gone to war. I think this is the only instance in history where two great nations have been brought to the verge of war by a dispute over a hog.

MR. JAMES D. ALLAN.

RECIPROCITY WITH THE UNITED STATES

Addresses by Mr. J. D. Allan, ex-President Toronto Board of Trade, and Mr. George T. Somers, President of the Sterling Bank of Canada, before the Empire Club, Toronto, on February 23, 1911.

MR. J. D. ALLAN:—

I am not too young to remember the effect of the old Reciprocity Treaty being abrogated. Toronto was then a place of about 70,000 inhabitants. The condition of trade at that time was so uncertain that I could not find a place that a boy could be put into, and I had to leave this city to get a situation. But I came back here a few years afterwards, and my return has been amply justified. Now the position of Toronto and the country at that time was one of extreme uncertainty—this was before Confederation. Since then we have been moving along in our own quiet way. A great change has taken place in less than a lifetime, and my hypothesis is that if we have been able, in spite of our great neighbour to the south, to make our position almost invulnerable—so far as their opposition is concerned—I think it gives an indication of the value of the policy our country has been pursuing.

Since Federation we have had no means of knowing the amount of inter-provincial trade, for there are no customs houses between the provinces, as was the case prior to 1867. But at the time of Federation the volume of the inter-provincial trade was about $500,000, and this has increased at a very low estimate to $200,000,000 at the present time. Now, to what extent is this inter-provincial trade threatened by the adoption of Reciprocity? What benefit is going to come from it? These are matters that each one in his own business can best settle for himself.

We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on railways, canals and river navigation. I have been visiting Europe for the last 35 years, and may be considered something of an ocean traveller. I have been on the St. Lawrence on all those trips, and only these last few years has it been possible to come from Quebec to Montreal at night on the steamer; this because of the wonderful improvements in the waterway, and the wonderful system of lighting. Think of other changes in 40 years, how distance has been almost obliterated by the application of steam in transportation. We have now steamers that cross the Atlantic in less than one-third of the time it took when I first commenced crossing. You can almost go there, do your business and return now, in the time it used to take to cross. What does this mean? It means an absolute need for protection, in the market of the consumer, for our products. Why should we imperil the identity of these products, also, by allowing them to pass through the United States, as they will so largely under Reciprocity.

While I am speaking of this I might mention the West Indies. In 1908, I was there in connection with the Trade Commission instituted by the Boards of Trade. We found that they were selling a lot of stuff in the West Indies that was really Canadian, but had gone through the American market and was known as "American" product. This country has grown too big for that. Why should we manufacture or grow stuff here and send it abroad and receive no credit for it in the market where it is consumed? I see in this a very serious reason why we should not carry out this arrangement. I have heard people talking who claim it is disloyal for us to trade with the United States. I have never thought so, and do not think so now, but it is one thing to trade with the individual people of the United States and quite another thing to enter into contract with the Government, the committees and the cliques that make their laws. And, while I have every respect for the American people, I think our safest way is to attend to our own business in our own way and allow them the same privilege.

Now, to-day, business is a science, and I claim that no man, however clever he may be, can take the whole list of articles effected by this Agreement, and without the advice of experts (I do not mean theoretical experts who take the records from the ledgers and say thus and so is the case, but men who know the actual difficulties of business life in their own particular lines) conclude a satisfactory treaty. We have never had any advice of this kind, therefore I may with propriety question the wisdom of the conclusion come to. Now, individuals can only talk with authoritative knowledge in connection with certain things.

Let me say that I happen to be connected with the Union Stock Yards of this city—stockyards that handle more export beef than any two others in Canada put together. The prices at the Union Stock Yards for export cattle have averaged higher in Toronto for six months past than they have either in Chicago or Buffalo. Where is the farmer going to derive his benefit from Reciprocity if he is allowed to ship a product that he can get more for here than there. Now, in reference to Mr. Gage's contention as to similar products. Mr. Gage very carefully went into this matter and over his own signature gave out these facts, which he took in part from the "New York Commercial Bulletin," a commercial journal which is recognized as the principal trade paper in New York:—

Product—	Toronto price.	New York price.
Best creamery butter in prints, wholesale	.. —26c	..—26½c
Prime chickens	18 —20	..—15
Prime turkeys	20 —22	..—18
Ducks	18 —20	15—16
Geese	15 —16	..—14
Bacon	16 —16½	..—16½
Hams	13½—15	..—14

Gentlemen, there is an exhibition of the fact, that when you scrutinize conditions you do not always find them working out just in accordance with statements that are made unthinkingly. Gentlemen, I believe that the duty of the people of this country is to show the farmer that his position under Reciprocity would not be what he has been led to believe.

We hear and see in some of our papers that these people of the United States are dangerous people. Let me say that I regard the average American citizen (I do not mean the heterogeneous mass that compose the United States at the present time, but the average English-speaking citizen) as being high-minded and as fair as people of our own class in Canada, but in saying that I want to add that it is no convincing argument that we are safe in throwing our nationality into their hands. Sir, I am proud to believe that we belong to an Empire that is bound to endure, and that its endurance is based upon something more than can be represented by things material. From the time we had a history Britain has stood as a friend to all oppressed peoples, no matter where, and raised their position under British rule to be equal to that of the greatest in the land, and this is what leads to national endurance. Sir, are we in Canada, who have just begun to grasp something of what our possible greatness may be, going to sacrifice ourselves even for a little personal gain?

The other night at the Board of Trade banquet we heard something of the wonderful possibilities of the agriculture of Ontario. Now, we who are urban residents do not want to under-estimate the farmer—we want to give him every assistance we can, and let him see that we are anxious that the result of his toil shall be as profitable as it can be made. We have no desire to see him selling in any markets that are not his best markets, but it is our desire and our belief that his best markets do not necessarily lie south of the Line. We say it is not in his best interests that the trade should be directed there; and it is not a strange thing that in Ontario we find such a large body of fruit-growers and others in different lines of agriculture who are all of that same opinion. Yet I understand that the Finance Minister said that "the people do not always know what is good for them." Perhaps so, but we are free to confess that no one likes to take a dose of castor-oil, even though he knows the results will be beneficial. The Finance Minister has no more rights in this matter than those who do not believe with him. I might say that I thought in approaching this subject I was doing so with the fullest freedom of a Canadian citizen, with that British principle and characteristic of speaking his own mind; and I believe that is the birthright that we as Britons enjoy, which we propose to protect without any regard as to whether it is called a party question or not.

I do not believe this is a party question. I may say I am a Liberal—I have always been a Liberal, and always hope to have some idea of what Liberal principles consist of—but I do not propose, even at the risk of having people say that I may be read out of the party, to allow my leaders to say what their interpretation of Liberalism may mean and expect me to adopt that interpretation. It may not be known to you that I was so much a Liberal, so far as the City of Toronto was concerned, that when the party could not get anyone else to stand up against E. B. Osler and E. F. Clarke in West Toronto, I was one of those who were slaughtered because of my Liberalism. But I think none the less of those who voted against me, for they showed by their vote that they had the courage of their convictions, and that is all I am doing now in espousing the cause of opposition to Reciprocity.

MR. GEORGE T. SOMERS.

I do not class myself as a rebel or renegade, or anything of that kind, but as an active Canadian citizen, and I hope and trust that the people to whom I am to speak to to-day, who have come across my signature so far as Reciprocity is concerned, will believe that I have at least been honest in giving my opinion, and that I appreciate quite as much the opinions of the gentlemen who differ from me, and who come out and give their views on the other side. This matter has been very much discussed both in our own Board of Trade and in the Associated Boards of Trades yesterday afternoon, where so large a number of representatives gathered, practically from the whole of the Province of Ontario, and who voted, not unanimously, but by a very large and substantial majority, in opposition to the legislation proposed at Ottawa.

What I maintain is that this is no time for a change. The people of Canada, as you know, are prosperous to-day. There is prosperity from ocean to ocean and trade relations are favourable. It has been mooted and said by some that Reciprocity will benefit the farmer, and that we in the cities have no reason to complain, as it is not going to interfere with manufacturers—but I feel that this is the thin edge of the wedge and that this is not the end of what we may expect. So far as the farmer is concerned, I have been as closely identified with the farmers as anyone, as I do business with them every day at 30 or 40 different points, buying their produce and shipping it to the markets of the world, and I do not believe this policy will benefit the farmer to any except a very small extent. In substantiation of that argument I would like to mention the case of barley. We are told that the farmer would get higher prices for his barley than he does at present if we had Reciprocity. He is receiving about 58c. a bushel at the elevators in Ontario at present, but if the new Agreement were consummated he would not only have the United States to deal with, but there would be other countries which have the favoured-nation clause in our treaties. They would be able to ship grain into Canada just as we would ship it to the United States, and they could lay down barley in Toronto to-day for 56c. a bushel. So, instead of the farmer getting a higher price, the price would actually be lowered.

Let me add this, that I don't think the farmer has been making any particular howl about his condition. He is a prosperous man to-day, and he is not going around the country asking favours of any other country. There was a time when the small villages used to be filled with lawyers, but they have migrated into the cities—why? Because there are no chattel mortgages to draw up, as there used to be, and it is very seldom you see them now in the farming community. Twenty-five years ago in the township where I lived there were few farms without a chattel mortgage, and many of them had land mortgages as well; but those conditions have changed. Chattel mortgages have disappeared and land mortgages have almost disappeared, and the farmer, instead of being the borrower, has become the man with a little money to loan out to those who need it. When he moves into town he is prepared to lend some money on city property, or deposit it in banks or with trust companies. I do not think these demands for Reciprocity with the States come originally from the farmer, nor do I think that the farmer will benefit if the proposed legislation is passed.

I do think, however, that his home market, from which he has made such enormous profits during the past few years, will very materially suffer, gentlemen. And I do firmly believe that Canada as a part of the Empire will very materially suffer. We have been spending an enormous amount of money to send the trade East and West, and we are talking of building the Georgian Bay Canal to cost $100,000,000, and of deepening the Welland Canal to cost $60,000,000. We have been spending millions and millions in building transportation lines to bring the trade East and West—to make the trade inter-provincial; now do we want to, by one stroke of the pen, send that trade north and south?

Then does anyone here want to say it will not affect capital? It will affect capital, and is doing so already. Right here in our own city of Toronto you are aware that $1,500,000 worth of bonds were placed in London recently for the purpose of establishing a large flour-mill and elevator on the Bay front. The bonds had all been underwritten, but so soon as the announcement was made, and the news flashed across the ocean, that Reciprocity with the United States was pending, the underwriters asked that this matter be delayed until some explanation was given. As soon as the information crossed the ocean that the Government here had committed itself, these underwriters, every one of them, cancelled their underwritings. I know that, gentlemen, for a positive fact. I happened to be speaking the other day to a representative of a large firm of capitalists in the Old Country who had been investing millions of dollars in this country, and he told me that on Friday of last week there came a cable to return to England and to make no further commitments until the Treaty proposition was disposed of. And yet men will tell you that it will not interfere with British capital. I maintain that it will, and I believe that you all will believe the same if you give the matter study.

As to our loyalty I do not think any of us need question that. We are Canadians, we are British subjects, and I hope and trust and believe that we will remain such. As to the loyalty of our friends across the border, there is no one will question it either, and there is no one who can find fault with them if they wish to extend their borders. They are none the less loyal to the United States if they should wish to attach to their union such a grand territory as that which lies to the north of them; but we would be very disloyal, it seems to me, to ourselves and to our country and to our Empire if we should assist them in any way in doing so. We know that they have attached or annexed certain portions of this Dominion already without our being able to help ourselves. It seems to me we should be very careful at this important juncture, at this important moment in the history of our country, to see that we do not in any way assist our friends across the line to annex any further portions of this land. I do feel, as I said before, very strongly from a Canadian standpoint, from a national standpoint, that this trade arrangement will be detrimental to this country and that is the reason why I wish to record myself against it.

LIEUT.-COLONEL F. W. HIBBARD, K.C.

THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

An Address by Lieut.-Col. F. W. Hibbard, K.C., President of the Public Utilities Commission of the Province of Quebec, before the Empire Club of Canada on Feb. 28, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Since the formation of the Commission of which I am a member, I have noticed that there are a great many mistaken ideas as to the purport or range of duties of this Commission. You will permit me to draw your attention for a moment to some of the marked modern tendencies in social and economic organization. We have seen the growth of very great cities; we have seen the demand and response to that demand for increased and increasing transportation facilities; but more marked than either of these, we have seen the growth of corporations with vast power, vast capital and vast administrative capacity. Mergers have been formed to an almost appalling extent in the great Commonwealth to the south; in fact your American appears to think that the realization of the motto "E Pluribus Unum" is to have his corporations under one head. Now this has lead us to a very acute stage in regard to the administration and the carrying on of public service.

Corporations have been very fond of getting hold of charters of one kind and another, principally municipal charters, and operating these for corporate benefit. That has brought them into contact with city legislators, municipal councillors or municipal fathers—step-fathers many of them ought to be called; in particular in the United States of America, where municipal politics have been demonstrated to the world, in respect to the very large cities, to be just about as bad as they could be. Now it is essential, I take it, in regard to great public utilities that the field should be just as wide as possible. It is sure to get into the realm of what might be called necessary monopolies. For instance, we do not want to go across about six miles of city territory and have to make about as many changes from one system of transport to another! We don't want to have half-a-dozen companies tearing up our streets to lay wires, conduits and so on! We don't want half-a-dozen telephones in order to reach our clientele or business associates! What we want and are entitled to have is a single service to do the work and a single service is capable of doing it. We want the work well done, and want it done at a reasonable price —these are things we are entitled to have.

So when you come to great public utilities like the supplying of transportation, particularly for the urban population, or the supplying of water-power, light or heat, any of these things, you get into the realm of monopolistic enterprise. Now it has been endeavoured to guard against the tendency to create monopolies by contract, municipal contracts, but this has failed because these franchises, these huge privileges, rights and charters, must extend over a very considerable period of time. You cannot get a municipal railway system, for instance, to invest 50, 25, or even 10 million dollars for a short-term contract franchise—it must have permanency if it is going to invest capital to do the work properly and keep it up properly. So we cannot have short contracts. Now, a contract will not provide for the rapid advancements that are being made in all forms of mechanical development, and otherwise, to cover a space of from 5 to 10 years, much less will it cover 20, 30, 40 or 50 years. So control by contract has largely failed.

Then, municipal ownership has been tried. Now municipal ownership in the light of the history of such vast organizations of people living together as we find in New York, Chicago, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, etc.; in the typical city of the American Continent; has been found to be a ghastly failure. It would be venturesome for any man, I take it, to suggest municipal ownership as a cure for the evils of monopolistic enterprise. So, in order that we might get that essentially valuable thing—a monopoly of service and supply and have it under constant and reliable control—we have devised in these modern days the Public Service Commission. The credit for this has been given to Governor Hughes of New York, but I think that, while to a great extent the organization has come from his suggestion, it is really founded upon a very proper and well-guarded and efficient control possessed by the Board of Trade in England over municipal enterprises there. The Board of Trade of England, as you know, is considered as an arm of the Government, not strictly official, but nevertheless is recognized as an arm of the public service of the country.

Now, these Commissions have been in operation—notably in the States of New York, Massachussetts, Wisconsin and others—for a matter of about four years. They have undergone a certain amount of test. In the Province of Quebec we have only had a public service body, under the name of the Quebec Utilities Commission, for a year or so. In fact, just a year ago, the first of March, it was organized.

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In the first place this Commission is not a court—it is not a Court of Justice. It is not rigidly bound by those more or less necessary rules of procedure in the conduct of cases that govern courts, because it is not essentially a place or body to which contending interests must be brought for final adjustment. I know the reproach that has been made to me by one of the leading papers in Montreal, that I have endeavoured to assert the authority of the Commission and the purpose of the Commission as a Superior Court. Nothing of the kind, for I am firmly convinced that the purpose of the Commission could not be fulfilled if it were in any real sense a Court of Justice.

To just illustrate what I mean, there was an insignificant place in the State of New York; it was called Smithville or Brownville, I do not care which, but it was a very insignificant little place. It was in the dead of winter and they were hard up for coal. Representations were made to the great railway that ran through the place, that they wanted coal. I suppose the representation was made the subject of those vastly accumulating files for which the railroad corporations are notorious, and nothing more was done. The coal went west through this place, but none was put off there. Now one of the clergymen of the place, happening to run across in the flotsam and jetsam of newspaper material an account of the working of the State Commission, formed the idea that he would write to this Commission about the grievance of this little place. He wrote and, the next day but one, got his reply in a car-load of coal, as our English friends would say, which was set down at Smithville; the very next day but one. Now, if he had gone to a Court of Justice (and I have the very greatest respect for Courts of Justice, so much so that I always advise my clients to keep as far away from them as possible); if he had gone to a Court of Justice, what would have been the result? Well, Smithville would have frozen through the rest of the winter, and would have sweltered through the summer following, right up to the fall, before it had heard from its Attorney that its request had been granted, and at the same time, probably by the same mail, a notice would be received that an appeal had been made, and more funds were required.

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The appeal to the Commission brought the coal—that is the essence of it. And, to give you an instance occurring in my own experience, word came one day from a city not far from Montreal where a great power canal was being enlarged, that a bridge had been removed and that some persons, men of business at one end of the main street of that place, had been practically cut off from the tide of population in the place, and that this had been going on for two months. A member of our Commission went down to this place the next day, met the aggrieved parties, and found that they had been labouring under this grievance for two months. He met the Company enlarging the power canal and they discussed the matter for an hour or so, and when he took his train to come back to Montreal he had the satisfaction of knowing that a temporary, serviceable and acceptable bridge was already under construction.

Now that is what the Commission is for. It is there to do work of this necessary kind—to stand like a pillar of steel between the public and those whom the public serve. It is there to intervene and act with resource, with promptitude and with energy whenever the occasion calls for it. It is called upon to go between the public service corporations and the public—to do it at once, to do it thoroughly, and to do it with the minimum of law and the maximum of common sense. So, if I define to you to-day the Public Service Commission or the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, or the Quebec Public Utilities Commission, as a sort of supervising permanent body of arbitrators, to come, just as occasion demands, quickly, efficiently and promptly, between those persons who carry on a great necessary service that the public require and the public itself; and do it in a way that necessarily means a benefit to the public utility as well as to the public at large. I am, I think, in a rough, perhaps very incomplete, but I think fair, fashion defining to you what a Public Service Commission is.

Now it inevitably follows that you must give a Commission of this kind a great deal of power. It is worse than useless if it has not got the power at its back to do what may be required. Now, so far as its legal limitations are concerned—I mean so far as it interprets the law which shows how far it may go and how far it may not go, and what it can do and what it can not do—I am quite free to admit that the law should be most carefully scrutinized and the Commission kept rigidly within the limits of its power. Thus, the same provision prevails in your law, I mean the law governing the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, as governs my own Commission or the Railway Board at Ottawa. When they have given a decision concerning a question of law there is an appeal to your Court of Appeal in Ontario and our Court of Appeal in Quebec, or the Supreme Court at Ottawa in the case of the Railway Board. That appeal is undoubtedly very necessary and a very proper safeguard. But of late I saw a delegation representing public utilities going down to Quebec, and asking that the right of appeal might be given from a decision of the Commission of which I am a member upon a question of fact. Now I want to say that I consider that the moment that you give an appeal of that nature you have converted your Commission from the body which I have endeavoured to define, and which I think it necessarily must be, into a mere Court of Justice. I say a mere

Court of Justice, because the powers of procedure in a Court of Justice must be limited, and, having converted your Commissions into Courts of Justice, why, 75 per cent. of their very *raison d'etre* will have disappeared, because then they must proceed to gather the material—I mean matter upon which they have to base their findings and decision—in a precise, accurate and legal form which can be submitted to a Court of Appeal.

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Now, take an example, for your Chairman has mentioned that I was to speak somewhat on the work of the Quebec Commission. That Commission was confronted with an appalling state of fatal accidents occurring in the operation of the Montreal Street Railway. We had 26 or 27 deaths occurring in a single year, and we thought it was our duty to investigate this state of affairs, and remove it so far as we could. We made that investigation, not by calling witnesses and swearing them and having them examined and cross-examined, and having objections made to this question and over-ruled or upheld, and all that sort of thing. We went into the work of other Commissions, examined all their tests, findings and their reports. We received whatever information the people chose to put before us in the way of correspondence and otherwise. We called officials into consultation and, more particularly, went about and looked up things ourselves, witnessed the tests ourselves and arrived at a conclusion, which was then framed in a series of orders. The sum total of these series of orders was that what we had done would cost the Railway Company some $440,000. Well now, there was no appeal from that decision, no appeal whatever, but it was found upon putting it into practice that it would operate harshly upon the Railroad Company in two or three minor instances. The Company came to us and asked that the order be modified in these respects and we at once modified the order accordingly, so that the point to make with your Commission is that it is not a court, but a body which gives decisions capable of being modified, altered or rescinded.

We are bound to make our mistakes, we will make our mistakes, but any Commission of that kind having made a mistake it is inconceivable that it will perpetuate that mistake. So we propose to have these orders like the orders of any other supervising or controlling body, to remain within our control and to remain elastic. But suppose that order of ours had been appealed and had gone to the Court of Appeal, and the Court of Appeal had sustained it in its entirety, then I submit no matter how unjust the decision was in some detail it would have to remain with all the sanction and sanctity of the judgment of the Court of Appeal stamped upon it, and nobody could have interfered with it. So I say keep your Commissions within the letter of the law and leave them to do the work they are called upon to do in an untrammelled fashion.

Now, this involves great power and responsibility. This is perfectly true. Therefore, your Commissioners must be chosen with a great degree of care. What you have got to have is a man of common sense, a man of conscience and a man of backbone, in each of your Commissioners, and then I think you will be perfectly free to leave them to do their work. Now, gentlemen, I have endeavoured to define to you what I think a Commission is and what powers in general it should have. This is not intended for a moment as a law lecture. There is, however, one matter that strikes me in regard to your own Ontario Railway Municipal Board—which is not like any other Commission I know of. It sustains a certain amount of supervision and control over municipal bodies. How far that may work out to advantage in practice of course remains largely to be seen, at any rate it will be a useful experiment in the field of Public Service Commissions; but I want to emphatically point out the limitations of these Commissions.

So many suggestions have been made to me, for instance, that the Quebec Commission should take up this, that, or the other thing, that it should investigate some merger for one thing, that it should investigate another merger for something else, and should have a sort of final voice to say what might be done in regard to one or other things of that character. Now, the field of the Public Service Commission is strictly limited by one emphatic fact, that is it should only interfere, that it should only have authority to interfere and control, where there is a necessary monopoly, or where there is usurption of public property or public rights. Where public property or rights are not concerned you must not interfere with the freedom of contract, or the acts of the Federal Parliament, Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Councils. Therefore, Commissions, such as I belong to, are not called upon to interfere with private contracts or in the domain of the representative and governing institutions of the country.

I thank you for listening to me patiently upon this matter. The limit of time to which I have set myself is drawing to a close. There is perhaps a good deal that might have been interesting to discuss in the probable working out of Commissions of this kind, but I think that the general field over which I have gone imperfectly, cursorally, will perhaps indicate in a more or less inefficient way what these Commissions are and what they may be safely counted upon to do. There is one notable Commission in this country, that is the Railway Board at Ottawa, which has now been arbitrating between the public and the great railway corporations of this country for some years, and I must say that the universal testimony throughout this country has been that the institution of that body, the meaning of that body, and the way it has discharged its tasks, are such as to commend themselves to the business judgment and common sense of the people of this country at large.

The Commission of which I am a member will endeavour to carry through its work as far as it may be upon the same lines. That work is growing fast. Our intervention has been called in from all parts of the Province, and in matters of very great variety of local and general interest. We are coping with that work to the best of our ability, and I must say that I have nothing but a tribute of praise to give to the manner in which the Attorney-General of Quebec has upheld us and I must, particularly, I think, thank him for having given to me such excellent and able colleagues as I have in Sir George Garneau and Mr. F. C. Laberge. I am glad if anything

I have said to you may be of interest to an Ontario and a Toronto audience. We read your papers, we read the news that comes from Toronto in our own papers in Montreal; we may, or may not, as the case happens, agree with the avowed sentiments that come from representative bodies here in Toronto; but we always feel this, that if there is a community that is alive, keenly alive, to whatever affects or interests the standing of the Province, the standing of the nation, the standing of the Empire at large, that such influence will be found directed upon the subject with a force and energy and keenness in Toronto that will not be excelled in any other part of the Dominion of Canada.

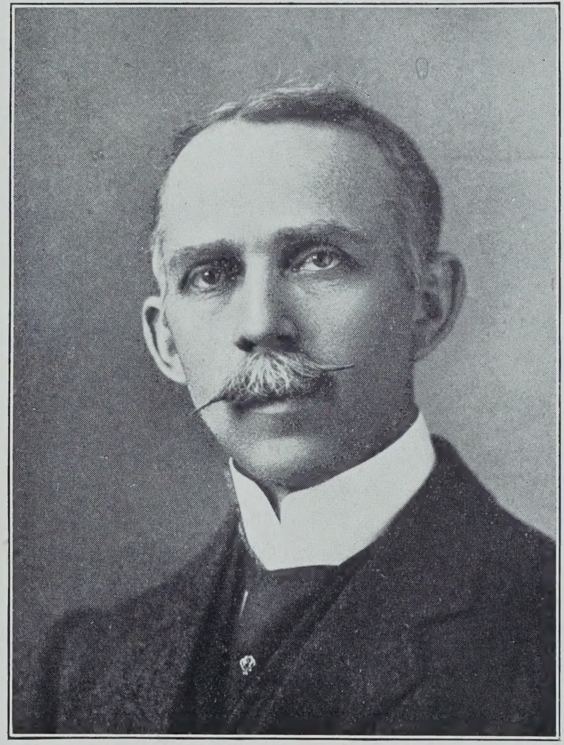
CANADIAN CLUBS AND CANADIAN PROBLEMS.

An Address by Mr. Charles R. McCullough, President of the Canadian Club, Hamilton, and Founder of the Canadian Club Movement, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on March 10, 1911.

Mr. President, my Lord Bishop and Gentlemen:

There was a time when there seemed to be room for ignorance in regard to the possibilities of Canada. Down in the County of Durham, when we were all boys together, we were either English, Irish, or Scotch, according to our forefathers who had come to the Province—very few of us ever called ourselves Canadians. It seems to me, sir, we had good reason, considering the past under the thrifty *regime* of the U.E. Loyalists who founded this great land; we had much to learn from their accomplishments all through the vicissitudes of those early days. But those days are past, and the day has come when Canada should demand that her sons, who have read her history, should learn to respect their land. There was then in those days a reason why there should be organized among Canadians some sort of institution which would make it possible for the young men of Canada to acquire the largest information possible in regard to the past, to study the lessons of the past, and to be able to observe the trend of the present and the possible future. So in 1892 (I shall not bother you with details) a few of us gathered together in an upper chamber in Hamilton to discuss a matter which was acute in the country at that time.

A number of people were then preaching that our salvation lay in throwing in our lot with the United States In this connection I might mention Erastus Wiman, and there were many others. Now, I want to speak dispassionately when I refer to these gentlemen, for they were men of great skill and capacity, which I greatly admired, though I could not agree with them on the subject of Commercial Union. So, along with a great many other



MR. CHARLES R. McCULLOUGH.

Canadians, we tried to find a way whereby we might strengthen and weld together men of diverse political views into one homogeneous organization that should know only one thing—their country—and endeavour to serve her as best they could. This was the origin of the Canadian Club idea. The first dinner was held in 1893—about a month after the idea had been broached in December, 1892. The membership was composed of men of various views in Canadian life. Upon this occasion Mr. Byron E. Walker, now Sir Edmund Walker, was one of our guests, and he spoke with great enthusiasm—speaking as he always does as one who knows his subject thoroughly—and he dealt with the resources of Canada that were available in this great country. He dwelt in glowing terms upon the future of Canada, in terms which to-day we have seen so amply verified.

Mr. John Crerar, a prominent Liberal of Hamilton, at this time said he could not understand the basis of the Canadian Club. He could well understand there being a St. Andrew's Society, a St. George's Society, a St. Patrick's Society, or a St. Jean Baptiste Society; but what use was there for a "Canadian Club" in Canada. I sat back in my chair and wondered if perhaps we had not made a mistake after all in forming this club. But, after hearing Mr. Walker's address, I felt justified in the step we had taken. In the sixties one of our visitors from across the seas said of us: "To the Canadian it is of small concern what he thinks of his country—he has little pride in it himself—whatever pride of country a Canadian has, his object for the most part is outside Canada." This was in 1860, but, thank God, that period has passed, and passed forever, for Canadians are now self-conscious, and they have risen to the duties and obligations devolving upon them, and we can see, Mr. President, that a Canadian is as proud of his country to-day as is any other British subject.

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Mr. J. W. Tyrell, the explorer, whose name will be familiar to any of you who have read his work on the "Sub-Arctics of Canada," said at the mess of the Highland Regiment to which I happen to belong, that last winter, when up in the northern part of Manitoba, he was in conversation with one of the oldest Indian chiefs, who said he remembered the time when in Winnipeg there were no white men—only Scotchmen (Laughter.) That reminds me, sir, of the time when there seemed to be nobody but foreigners in Canada. To-day I think we may safely say there are a great many Canadians in Canada who are Canadians at heart, and who, while they may differ in party matters, and in some fiscal matters, yet are deeply attached to the land in which they live. Let us be broad Canadians—as broad as from sea to sea and ocean to ocean, and from the south to the north; but in all our breadth let us endeavour to conserve the national spirit, to build up Canada in every possible way. I may not quote Scripture correctly, my Lord Bishop, but will say that "man does not live by bread alone," nor a Canadian by material resources merely. We should love these ideals we have before us, and each endeavouring in season and out of season to achieve them. Quoting Scripture, or endeavouring to do so, reminds me of the early days of the Canadian Club—when, I suppose, Sanford Evans and myself spent more time in that connection than we did in our respective businesses—and a certain clergyman when he met me on the street would say: "Well, McCullough, how is Canada to-day?" It was cynical, it appeared to me, and seemed very chilling in those days, but I would assure him that "Canada was very well indeed that day." And I think, sir, that Canada is very well for many centuries to come if we are true to her.

You who have read history will remember that in the year 1849 a Manifesto was issued in the great city of Montreal regarding our neighbours to the south, and endeavouring to persuade us that our safety lay in union with those southern neighbours. Well, sir, that was in Montreal, that city that has seen so many thrilling events in our history. While that Manifesto was being signed Susannah Moodie was writing a book on Canada, in which she wrote: "The time is not far distant when she (Canada) shall possess many advantages; when the old nations of the world will look upon her development with pride. Her infancy is passed, she has begun to feel her feet. She has heard the call clearly—and she must be great." These were the words of a noble woman, a woman descended from the noble Strickland family of England, and a woman who suffered a great deal during the vicissitudes of the early days in Canada—the pioneer, formative days. It is, I am sure, a credit and an honour to any country to see such women as these so true to their adopted country in days gone by.

Now, what does the Canadian Club stand for? What do Canadians stand for?—because Canadian Clubs are Canada. In the 60 or 70 of these clubs scattered throughout Canada, it is a duty to interest members in the great questions which all Canadians are concerned in by such means and such gatherings as you have here to-day. These meetings are taking place all over Canada, whereby men come and express their views—rightly or wrongly—and they are taken at their market value. You will remember, back in the pre-federation days when our frontier was assailed, or about to be in 1866, how D'Arcy McGee advocated the principle that our young men of Canada were the guards we wanted, and the only guards required to protect our frontier. When our young men are proud of their country and of the Empire, then there is little fear for the future welfare of our land, or little need for apprehension as to any trouble in store for us. Where the heart is right there is true patriotism. It seems to me this love of country will colour the whole development and guide them in all their actions.

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Now, Victor Hugo said in one of his novels: "There are certain beings who cannot have love on one side without hatred on the other." Now, I would be very much pained if in this country of ours we based our love of Canada upon the dislike of any other people. That is not a sound enough basis on which to erect a national fabric, nor would it continue long thereon. So I found myself not long ago the guest of a Canadian Club at New York at a Peace Dinner. I also attended one at Boston, and as a military man, holding a commission from His Majesty, felt perfectly satisfied to take part in these Peace Dinners in the United States. We should meet with ready hands, in the kindliest disposition possible, the United States, but it seems to me that in doing so we should in no way lower the national tone of our people, but rather to endeavour to promote and develop it in every possible way, and should think of our own household before we think of a household beyond the border.

Then there was another object of the Canadian Club, namely, the promoting of unity amongst ourselves. One of our first efforts was to bring a distinguished French-Canadian from Montreal to Hamilton to address the Canadian Club. Of course, we differ somewhat from the people of Quebec, at any rate in religion, but the French were in Canada before we came, and we should seek to cultivate the spirit of tolerance, good-will and concord in relation to our compatriots, the residents of the Province of Quebec. So, at the outset of the Canadian Club movement we tried to develop this idea of toleration and respect for the point of view of the other fellow in Canada. In this and other connections let us always remember that love is better than hate, that faith is better than doubt. and hope in our future destiny is better than fear or pessimism. These words, or something very like them, have been expressed by the present Premier of Canada—a French-Canadian.

In building up the walls of Jerusalem everyone of the children of Israel enclosed their city with unusual strength of wall—the duty devolved upon them to build, and every man did his part. So, in Canada, it is by every one doing his part, men of diverse views, men of different races, men who have no knowledge of the liberty we enjoy in this Canada of ours, but who have come here to share in our privileges. It is our duty to meet such men with kindly hands, kindly words, and show them the reason we are proud of our heritage as British subjects in Canada. I look with a good deal of satisfaction on the growth of the Canadian Club movement. It should make for a strong national character. In travelling from Hamilton to Victoria, at various points last autumn where I stopped off I saw Canadian Clubs springing up all along the line. In speaking upon one occasion, I said I was pleased to know there were not strong forts from the Atlantic to the Pacific between us and our American neighbours such as there is in Germany between that country and France; but instead, that these Canadian Clubs might be taken as so many redoubts spread along the border line and seeking to make of all Canadians strong integral parts of the British Empire. Mr. President, I am through. I will close by thanking you and the members present for the opportunity given me of endeavouring to express to you in a few words the place this Canadian Club movement holds, and in which I am sure you are all interested. I trust that the efforts of the Canadian Club to make Canada a great family, an important nation, shall not prove futile, and that Canada will rise to be the very apex of our great Imperial fabric.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

An Address by Mr. A. S. Goodeve, M.P., of Rossland, B.C., before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 23, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I have chosen for the few remarks that I shall make this afternoon the subject of our Pacific Province. Before entering upon this subject, it might be well to very briefly trace the history of that portion of the Dominion. In 1846, by the Treaty of Oregon, Vancouver Island was acknowledged to be British territory, and in 1849 the Island was made one of the colonies of the British Crown. The mainland of British Columbia, at the time of the gold rush in 1858, was also made a British colony, and in 1866 the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united and became the united colony of British Columbia. On July 20, 1871, the united provinces, or the colony of British Columbia, joined the Confederation of Canada, and thus completed that splendid galaxy of provinces stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific which formed our glorious Dominion and became the brightest gem in Britain's Crown.

This is briefly the history of how we came into possession of this splendid heritage of ours; but it really embraced a long slow struggle. There were men, when this great Province of British Columbia was considering coming in Confederation on the condition that she would be united with the rest of Canada by a transcontinental railway, who said the cost would be too great. There were many public, many prominent men who felt that the undertaking, that the task for our young Dominion was more than it would be able to stand. They said that British Columbia was but a "sea of mountains," and they were right too. British Columbia was a "sea of mountains," but nature was so lavish in her splendid gifts to that glorious province that it could not contain all the treasures and so, to hold the precious metals, the gold, the silver, the copper and the great black diamond—the coal areas of that country—it was in these vast mountain peaks that the glaciers were formed which supply those majestic

MR. ARTHUR S. GOODEVE, M.P.

rivers—the Thompson, the Kootenay, the Columbia and the Fraser; it was the mineral soils washed down by those great streams that fed the rich and smiling valleys; it was through the tumbling from great heights that they developed the electrical energy that enables us to use the great natural resources that we have in that country. The mighty slopes of these mountains were covered with splendid Douglas firs, cedars, hemlock and spruce, and so we have the vast natural resources of which we are so proud.

British Columbia, our maritime Province of the Pacific, is the largest in the Dominion of Canada, and is variously estimated to contain from 372,000 to 395,000 square miles. It is about 700 miles from north to south and 400 miles in width. It has a coast line of something over 4,000 miles, including all its capes and bays. Perhaps you will better understand the immensity of this province when I tell you that we could place in it side by side two Englands, three Scotlands, and four Irelands, and have 5,000 square miles left over. It has twice the area and double the natural resources of the German Empire. This great province is represented at Ottawa by three Senators and seven members. Its Government is what is known as responsible government, with one Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislative Assembly of forty-two members. These members are elected for four years. We have manhood suffrage by which every male adult who has resided six months in the province and is duly registered—with the exception of Chinese and Japanese—can vote. It is in the temperate zone—the zone of the brain-workers and thinkers. It is the heart and nerve centre of the British Empire, because it is at about an equal distance from India, Australia and the Motherland. (Laughter.) It is the last point touched and the first point reached in going to and from India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the Hawaiian Islands.

The trade of two continents passes through that great Province of British Columbia, the trade from Europe to those great Eastern countries which are now awakening to the marvellous possibilities of trade and commerce with this young and growing province. The vast area of this province, comprised as it is within nearly 12 degrees of latitude, between the 49th and 60th degrees, has a great variety of temperature, but, owing to the Japan current striking the coast, it is very mild, both on Vancouver Island and the entire Coast. There is little frost or snow, and there is a difference of at least 10 degrees of latitude in favour of places on the Pacific coast as compared with corresponding positions on the Atlantic coast. The interior is subject to greater extremes, both of heat and cold, but nowhere are the extremes so great as on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains; the climate is for the most part drier, and the snowfall consequently less.

In our educational facilities we have made ample provision for absolutely free national schools, including free text books; no dogma or religion is allowed to be taught in any of our schools; but the highest morality is inculcated there. The Government has also made provision for higher education by setting aside a large endowment in provincial lands for the establishment of a Provincial University. All our High Schools at present are affiliated with McGill University, so that without leaving home we can take our preliminary courses. We trust very shortly now that we will have our own university, so that our people may be educated within the confines of the province itself.

We have many natural resources. We have the largest area of timber on the American continent. Our forests and woodlands comprise 182 million acres, of which 20 per cent., or one-fifth, is merchantable timber. That would give us 36 million acres of merchantable timber. Taking a very moderate estimate of 10,000 feet to the acre, which is very low, it would give us 360 billions of feet of merchantable timber, which would produce 3,600,000 feet annually for one hundred years. In addition to this we have many thousands of square miles of pulp and paper-making wood. That gives you some idea of our riches in timber alone.

It is very difficult to estimate the amount of our agricultural lands in that province, but this I can assure you, that to-day we feel assured that we have much more agricultural land than we had any idea of in the earlier settlement of the province. This has been due to the fact that many of the areas formerly considered unfit for agricultural purposes are proving to be the very best for the raising of hay and clover, and fit in many cases for the growing of wheat and other grains. We have ten times the agricultural land in the Province of British Columbia as is contained in the whole Japanese Empire, where they raised last year 22 million bushels of wheat. We have twice the agricultural area of Sweden, and they support there a population of five millions of people, one-half of whom are agriculturists.

Ten years ago our orchard area was less than 7,000 acres, to-day we have 100,000 acres under fruit cultivation and we have, I think, a quality of fruit unsurpassed anywhere in the world. Year after year we have taken the gold medal at the Royal Horticultural Society's Exhibition in London; also at the Spokane International Apple Show we took a large number of prizes, and in one case we took 13 prizes out of 14 entries in competition with 22 states of the Union.

Our mines have produced since their inception no less than $347,800,000, and we have a quarter of a million of square miles of unprospected mineral territory. Dr. Henry S. Poole, an authority on mining in Nova Scotia, stated in a recent report that the Rocky Mountains are the largest coal areas known in the Dominion of Canada and, what is more important from a commercial point of view, are the only large coal-fields of first-class coal at present known on the Pacific slope from Alaska to Mexico. Eighty per cent. of these measures are in the Province of British Columbia and 20 per cent. in Alberta. In East Kootenay, which is the riding I have the honour to represent in the Dominion House at Ottawa, is situated the famous Crow's Nest Pass coal measures; and there are, besides, the coal measures on Vancouver Island, in Northern British Columbia, and in the Peace River District. Dr. D. B. Dowling, who is in the Official Geological Survey of Canada, estimates the coal areas of the Crow's Nest Pass district —southern and northern portions—to contain the enormous quantity of 36,000 million tons of workable coal.

In addition to that we have large iron deposits scattered throughout various parts of that province. Already we are having established by Duluth capitalists steel works down on tide-water. These are matters for congratulation as opening up an industry such as in other countries is taken as the index of industrial progress. What the successful introduction of iron and steel-making means to the Coast and the province generally, you gentlemen are well qualified to judge.

Then we have our fisheries. They employ over 12,000 men, and produced last year over 30 per cent. of the total value of the fisheries of the Dominion of Canada, nine-tenths of this being in the salmon fisheries; while the catch of halibut was ten times greater than that of the Atlantic last year. In Nanaimo harbour alone we took out last year 45 million pounds of herring. We have, in addition, our deep sea fishing, the cod, the whale and the seal, our oyster culture, the manufacturing of fish oils and fertilizers, the canning of our crabs and clams and other shell-fish. You will get some idea of the enormous value of these fisheries when I tell you that it was estimated by a trial made on the Pacific coast of Canada by means of trawling that in half an hour we can take up more fish product than they can take up in six hours in countries of Europe bordering on the North Atlantic; and yet those countries support a population of no less than one million fisher-folk. This will give you some idea of the fisheries on the Pacific coast of Canada and the immense value of these fisheries to the Province of British Columbia.

In regard to our game, and some of you men are interested in that, I can only say that no country peopled by white men surpasses the Province of British Columbia in opportunities for the hunter and the angler.

It may be news to you to learn that we have in that province no less than 1,700 miles of railway, being about a mile of track to each 250 square miles of area—and there are now under construction 400 miles. With the completion of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific we will have an additional railway mileage of 1,300 miles. In addition to that we have over 9,000 miles of waggon roads and 4,500 miles of trails, making a total of 14,000 miles in all At the present time the British Columbia Government are building a trunk road from

Vancouver to the Province of Alberta, and this, I can honestly say, will probably, from a scenic point of view, be one of the greatest waggon roads in the world.

In 1904 British Columbia's imports amounted to $12,079,088, and the exports to $16,536,328. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1909, the imports were $24,180,452 and the exports $23,941,187, an increase in the total trade of that province in four years of $19,506,223; a remarkable increase considering the population of the province. The Bank clearings for 1910 aggregated $536,555,892, an increase in twelve months of $175,000,000, in a province with probably not more than 350,000 population. Our merchant marine is steadily increasing. The navigation returns for 1909 show that we had 5,000 sea-going vessels sailing from British Columbia ports, while there were 20,000 vessels engaged in coasting trade, representing in all over 9,000,000 tons of shipping.

At the present time British Columbia inscribed stock stands higher on the London market than any other colonial securities. In the year ending 31st March, 1910, we had a cash surplus of $2,500,000, and to-day British Columbia is in the unique position, which, as far as I am aware, no other country or province occupies in the world, of being able, if she so desired, of writing her cheque and paying off every cent of her bonded indebtedness. The value of production in our industries last year was estimated at $100,000,000, roughly divided as follows:

Manufactures	$35,000,000
Mining	26,183,505
Timber	17,000,000
Agriculture	14,399,000
Fisheries	8,000,000

Last year we imported in:

Live stock	$5,253,286
Dairy products	2,701,946
Meats	974,129
Fruits and vegetables	163,620
Eggs and honey	306,893
Field crops	5,381,544
Miscellaneous	180,486
Total	$14,961,904

Now we raised of the same products last year in the province $14,000,000 worth. We imported, as I have told you, $14,962,000, every dollar of which should have come from the Prairie Provinces of the West. They could supply us with all these products in return for our fruit and our coal. That gives you some idea of the splendid value of this inter-provincial trade—one with the other.

Now, Mr. Chairman and members of the Empire Club, I have endeavoured to give you these facts and figures in order that you might grasp something of the marvellous resources of my great province, but I may here say that a country's greatness is not measured by the richness of her resources, but rather by the moral stamina of her people. We in the West have the Asiatic question with us. It is not so acute at present, yet we have it always with us. I can only say to you that it is not a local question; all of you in the Dominion of Canada are vitally interested in it with us; and the whole British Empire is interested in the great question, of not only Asiatic but of all immigration. I think, Mr. President, that we are too busy in this Canada of ours advertising to the world our great natural resources. We are inviting all and sundry to come and partake of these marvellous riches. We are throwing too wide open our doors. I think it is time for Canada to stop and take stock, to learn lessons from the other nations of the world—like the great nation to the south of us—to sift our immigration more carefully. It takes a long time to build a nation. You men who have been to our Western country and seen one of those magnificent Douglas firs from 150 to 300 feet high and watched it with admiration, realize that sometimes when you examine this tree you will find that it has grown too rapidly, it is rotted at the root—it is hollow butted—fair to look upon, but, as every lumberman knows, it will not make good timber. We want to be careful we are not hollow-butted. There should be no slums in Canadian cities. (Loud applause.) Rather let us grow more slowly but grow more soundly in the development of this great country of ours. Remember, it takes 200 years to produce a sound and sturdy tree, and it takes longer to make a sound and sturdy nation.

This is a heritage for you and me to care for, it is a heritage handed down to us by those who have gone before, and now I say it is not a question for you and me to decide, whether we shall protect the Province of Nova Scotia at the expense of Ontario, or Ontario at the expense of Manitoba, or Manitoba at the expense of British Columbia, or *vice versa.* The question for you and me to decide to-day is, shall we keep this nationhood of ours clear or shall we weakly allow this heritage to be merged into the nation to the south of us (Voices, No, No.) Shall we, true to the ideals of the great Anglo-Saxon race, shoulder the responsibilities of the Empire or shall we follow the flesh-pots of Egypt into the bondage of the American fiscal tariff? This is the question for you and me to decide to-day. This land is dear to us through its traditions. The soft beauty and strength of the maple is entwined with the tough and sturdy oak. We love it for its silent and open spaces, we love it for the life and vigour of its cities, we glory in its storm-swept prairies, and our hearts fill with pride at the majesty of its mountains. We glory in the roar of the Atlantic upon its rock-bound shores, and we are proud as citizens of Canada, and our hearts throb with fierce joy, and are filled with tender pity, as we watch the warm waters of the Pacific gently lave the shores of its smiling valleys. Members of the Empire Club, we love this land most of all because it is ours, bought with the blood of our fathers, shielded by the flag that has stood for righteousness, freedom and honesty. I ask you members of the Empire Club, shall we keep it such?

TORONTO AND TOWN PLANNING.

An Address by Mr. W. D. Lighthall, M.A., K.C., F.R.S.C., Member of the Metropolitan Parks Commission, Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on March 30, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I have a word of apology to first present to the Empire Club. As a good Imperialist, it was a great disappointment to me not to have been able to address the Club on a previous occasion when an arrangement had been made. I had intended to speak on the subject of which the heading would have been "Imperialist Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces," and to have tried to emphasize—as we all ought to do—the fact that to be a good Canadian Nationalist is not at all incompatible with being a good British Imperialist. At the present time, in the present stage of development of the discussion of the Imperial question, it appears to me that it is the most important phase of it upon which we ought to lay emphasis.

I intend to speak to-day of city planning in general, and what I hope to do is to state my own convictions with regard to what strikes me as two or three strong points, of interest here. One of these points is that the matter is one of very great urgency at the present moment, and another is the fact that city planning is not essentially or merely a question of beautification or æsthetics, or of luxury, so much as it is the absolute interest of the population of a large city. The large city, of which we are developing our share in Canada, is a community which differs in some very important aspects from a small city or municipality. When a place—and this is a world-wide fact—runs up to the hundreds of thousands, it begins to develop the slum and, as it rises in population up to, say, 200,000, on this continent—perhaps it is different on other continents—the slum tends to rapidly increase, and very great evils, of which the slum is merely a general descriptive word, grow up in the community, and it is found that the population becomes congested in the centre. I speak particularly of the poorer elements of the population, or rather of the working elements, with the poor.

President Elliott of 'Harvard University, who is a great authority on the subject, that is to say, a great student of it, has stated its chief principle as this: that the great object of city planning is to fit the industrial population which forms the essence of any large city for the tasks with which they have to deal, to equip them so that they can carry out their function in the community properly, upon which the happiness and comfort and progress of the rest of the community depends. This is the essential point in city planning, which ought to be considered more than the provision of parks, of drives, and of beautiful boulevards. They appeal to the scenic point of view, in any case, to the mere æsthetic sense and to the sentiment of luxury or city pride. But the first object of city pride ought to be the fulfilling of our duty to the masses of the people.

Everywhere in the civilized world at the present time the question of how to eradicate the slum—which is a disease—how to perform the duty of rendering the lives of the working population healthy, comfortable, and pleasant, and to enable them to do their work, has arisen Great evils have been noticed as arising from a neglect of that duty which we have to perform. Sanitation and housing have been tried as such, and now it is found that these attempts to eradicate slum evils are handicapped and largely rendered useless by the absence of general city planning in each community. The worst result of the want of a plan is that the working population are driven to the centre, and the centre becomes congested; the houses become inferior there through age and the buildings more and more close together; they are built higher and higher, and light and air begin to be rarities; houses with dark rooms, for example, are built in numbers. In places where planning is absolutely neglected the children suffer from an immense death-rate, the general death-rate of the population is raised by that fact and by other facts, and disease rises to such a point that all the increase of population is wiped out. So that, in reality, city planning is essentially a hospital and racial fact, as well as a great industrial fact. These things overshadow its aspect as an æsthetic matter.

In Germany very great attention has been paid for about a generation to, and very great progress has been made in, city planning. The modern rise of industrialism in the German Empire has enabled it to make rapid strides in this particular. Take, for example, the cities of the Rhine, which were old mediæval cities. With the growth of population that has arisen from trade and the manufacturing movement, the present generation have created new cities under better supervision and have planned them well and developed a whole science of town planning.

Germany has endeavoured to solve these problems, and we have a great deal to learn from that nation, and some of the cities of France have also done very well in this regard. I suppose it is known by most of us here that the cities of England are now feeling an interest in this subject, and for a considerable time have been making experiments and studying its different aspects. Such cities as Birmingham, London, Liverpool and other places have tried to meet the problem of congestion by rebuilding the worst areas. That is one of the remedies naturally suggested for a good many of these evils. But I want to say that it now has been generally agreed to be only a very partial cure, the cost of rebuilding these areas and various other unsatisfactory results with regard to them having shown that only a small portion of relief can be arrived at by rebuilding. You must re-plan, and you cannot escape from re-planning.

In England, they have quite recently introduced a very fine piece of proposed legislation on the subject, called The Housing and Town Planning Act—of which Mr. Vivian spoke to the citizens of Toronto during his recent visit here. It will enable the municipal authorities to take hold of the whole subject of town planning, to acquire land, to properly sub-divide, and to improve the layout of their cities to a considerable extent. But the past, gentlemen, cannot be fully remedied. That is one of the essential lessons for us to remember; the past cannot be remedied without very great inconvenience, and never when the mistakes have been fundamental.

The cities of America have done something. Boston has had for the last seventeen years a Metropolitan Parks Commission, which, acting with great energy and provided with sufficient revenue, has been enabled, in conjunction with other bodies in the city of Boston, to create a system of well devised parks, playgrounds, etc., covering some 12,500 acres of land in extent, all properly devised and maintained.

There are other American cities that have been carefully studying the various aspects of the work, particularly Chicago. Chicago has taken up the work with great energy and spent millions and millions of dollars, until some of the finest of playgrounds in the world are to be found there, all well supervised. There is now in process what they call the New Plan of Chicago, which is the product of the best architects that the city could engage, acting with a great body of the business men, and which I have no doubt will be carried out in its essence with great energy. The city of St. Louis has also a very fine plan of similar work in hand.

Now, with regard to our Canadian cities. The thought most upon my mind to-day is that there is a sort of crisis at this particular time. The next ten years, most of us agree, will be the greatest growing time for Canada and for our cities and, undoubtedly, their greatest *formative* time. Cities like Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver are large enough to feel more than the beginnings of the slum and the non-planning disease, and that growing time for us is the time when those evils will move with great rapidity and when there is the fear that they may get ahead of us. You are not actually carrying out a really large plan for the city of Toronto, suited to what it will be and what you, by a little thought, must know it will be within the next fifteen or twenty years. (Voices, hear, hear.)

Here is one point. Instead of spending so much every year, even if you take the amount you are spending now (and you ought to double it or far more than double it), you should capitalize that amount, and thus enable the authorities in charge of revenues of the kind to spend large sums in acquiring land at the present time and with the present opportunities. You would thus give the public the advantage of the rise in price and a choice of sites. Next, there are two or three odd things that I have noticed in connection with Toronto that I would like to refer to. One is street widening. You seem to face your street widening problems with a good deal of hesitation. It appears to me that you ought to get a good general plan, endorsed by or studied out by an outside expert of the very best kind you could get, and that you ought to authorize a competent Commission to carry out that plan, no matter what it costs.

In this connection I ought to have mentioned the fact that I am a member of the Metropolitan Parks Commission of Montreal. About a year ago the Government of the Province of Quebec established what is called the Metropolitan Parks Commission of Montreal. On that Commission some six members were appointed, and during the past year we had the privilege of interviewing and obtaining advice of the best outside experts we could get and arrived at a general outline plan for the city of Montreal, which was reported to the Legislature a month or two ago. One of the problems—which seems to be yours—we had to face was the congestion of the main streets toward the centre; and we came to the conclusion that while our city was not at the point yet when undergrounds or overheads should be considered—we do not like overheads, we do not want them—there seemed no doubt that undergrounds ought to be the solution or part of the solution, in the centre. The cars, or at least the press of them, should be taken off the principal streets there. That seems to be the obvious solution that ought to be undertaken by the city of Toronto also—a partial subway system in the centre.

Another point that strikes me, in looking around your city, is that your institutions, such as the University, ought to acquire now, as soon as possible, enough land for the extreme wants of the future. No school, either, ought to be without enough land to make all the necessary extensions and have plenty of playground, in addition, for all the ultimate uses of that particular institution.

Another point is that it appears to me you ought in planning to have in mind the covering of the whole territory that the city of Toronto will ultimately cover. It is not necessary to acquire great outside parks that you can easily acquire later, because the more important thing is the acquiring of pieces that are immediately encircling the city and that are being lost. Those are in the first order of necessity. The fringes of the future territory of the greater Toronto ought to be planned out, and something should be done to acquire within a comparatively few years such pieces as would appear to be advantageous.

The point that I would like to emphasize finally, again, is that now is a time of crisis in the matter; it is a time of very great urgency; every postponement of a year during the next ten or fifteen years is a very great mistake for the city of Toronto; and I would like to see every gentleman here use his influence with the rest of the citizens in backing up the efforts that are being already made by those who are working on this matter, and that it should be brought to such a conclusion that the city of Toronto of the future would be worthy of the city of Toronto of to-day.

THE WIDER PATRIOTISM.

A brief Address by President Castell Hopkins at the annual Dinner of the Empire Club of Canada, on April 5, 1911.

Gentlemen:

I think it would be interesting if the President of this Club should, at the conclusion of each year's work, indicate briefly the progress, or otherwise, of the principles and policy of Imperialism during the year. Whether he does so or not I may be permitted, perhaps, to lay the basis for such action by reviewing in a few short phrases what it seems to me personally—without making the Club responsible for my views—are the influences now working in this country toward closer and better relations or which in recent years have aided in that direction.

1. The personal influence of the Sovereign in promoting loyalty and appreciation of the Throne as the pivot upon which rests the constitution and unity of the Empire; the effect of the visits paid by successive Princes of Wales to Canada or of such an appointment as the Duke of Connaught as Governor-General.

2. The influence wielded by the Governor-Generalship when that office is embodied in such a personality as Earl Grey's, strengthened by such speeches as he has delivered in Canada, and affected by such incidents as the Quebec Tercentenary.

3. The holding of Colonial Conferences (1887, 1897, 1902, 1907, 1909) and the better personal knowledge and relationships thus created together with a naturally increased perception of Empire responsibilities and conditions amongst the statesmen concerned; the pending and obvious evolution of that body into a permanent Imperial Council; the gathering together of commercial interests by means of the Congresses of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire in 1886, 1892, 1900, 1906 and 1909; the meeting of special conferences in London, such as those on Education, and Mercantile Shipping regulations in 1907, and the Conference of Canadian and British journalists in 1909.

4. The increasing number of visits to Canada by distinguished men such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Kipling, Lord Morley, Mr. Bryce, the Bishop of London and Lord Milner together with the large increase visible in Canadian individual visits to Britain.

5. The evolution of a new sense of responsibility in foreign affairs as indicated by the Japanese incident and the recent Hague Tribunal decision and by fuller knowledge of Britain's sympathetic and powerful support in the conduct and result of diplomatic negotiations both now and in the past.

6. The reform of the postal rates by which an "intellectual preference" is becoming possible, correspondence increasing by leaps and bounds between the two countries, and British newspaper and periodical literature finding its natural place in Canadian homes.

7. The Canadian preferential tariff, whether much or little in degree, and the Chamberlain fiscal movement in Britain—whatever its ultimate measure of success or the details of the British and Canadian tariff negotiations which would follow.

8. The increasing investment of British money in Canada; the fact that the total in 1897 was $583,000,000, in 1907 $1,312,000,000, in 1911 about $2,000,000,000; the additional fact that a complete change has come in the trend of British capital being toward Canada instead of the United States.

9. The growing number of joint Imperial undertakings, such as the Pacific cable, the inception of schemes such as the All-Red route, the co-operation in various matters of current legislation, and developments in unity such as the Imperial General Staff.

10. The large emigration of people from the United Kingdom to Canada totalling since 1897, 600,000, as against 529,000 from the United States, and the fact that this should counterbalance any special trend of thought in the minds of foreign settlers who have been pouring into the Canadian West.

11. The influence of the South African War and its memories in promoting a general understanding—if not undertaking—that Canada will stand by the Mother-

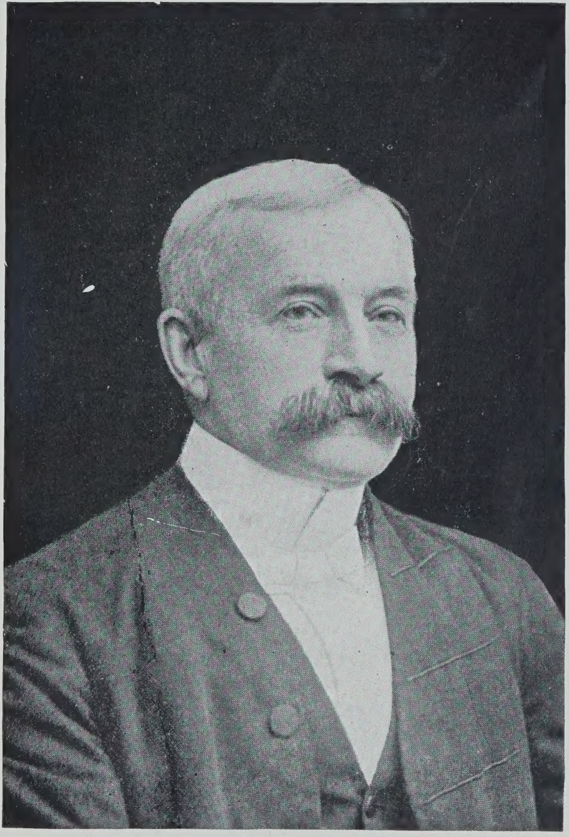
country in any future struggle and the reiterated assertion of Canadian statesmen that in any serious conflict every resource of Canada will be at the Empire's service.

12. The function of such organizations as the Canadian Clubs, which by educating the people in Imperial and general issues of a public character, without taking sides or holding any brief for any cause, can hardly help but make clear-thinking men understand better the position of Canada within or without the Empire, and appreciate more fully the national duties and Imperial responsibilities of the Dominion. In the past three years there have been, approximately, 600 addresses before these Clubs in Canada, of which 200 have been devoted to British or Imperial topics.

13. The work of such bodies as the Daughters of the Empire, the British Empire League, the Canadian Defence League, and the Empire Club of Canada.

So far as the latter is concerned we have in the past eight years had 218 speakers, of whom 117 dealt with Imperial topics. In this past year our speakers numbered twenty-nine, and it may interest some to know that eight of these were Liberals, nine of Independent or unknown political views, and ten Conservatives.

May I add in conclusion, and again speaking personally, that there are two things of an Imperial character which might well be carried out in this the Coronation year: (1) the inclusion of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand—the four Dominions of the Empire—with the United Kingdom in the Royal title; (2) a contribution from each of these Dominions toward the maintenance of the Monarchy, which is the Empire's greatest link of unity and pivot of government.



SIR GEORGE C. GIBBONS, K.C.

THE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS TREATY.

An Address by Sir George C. Gibbons, K.C., Chairman of the Canadian Section, at the annual Dinner of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, on April 6, 1911.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

In the year 1904 the United States asked our Government to join in the appointing of a Joint Commission —to be known as the International Waterways Commission—to deal with the matter of the use of boundary waters, to be composed of three Canadians and three Americans. Mr. Justice Mabee was the first Chairman of the Canadian Section. He retired about a year after the formation of the Commission to take a seat upon the Bench, and I had the honour of succeeding him. Dr. King, Dominion Chief Astronomer, and Mr. Louis Coste, C.E., were the other Canadian members of this Commission. Mr. W. J. Stewart, of Ottawa, has since taken Dr. King's place. The American Section consisted of Brigadier-General Ernst of Washington, Mr. George Clinton of Buffalo, a leading lawyer and grandson of the celebrated Governor Clinton of that State, and Professor Wismer of Detroit, who had been connected with the Lake Survey and held important official positions in connection with the Federal Government. Mr. Wismer died, and his place was taken by Professor Haskell of Cornell University.

This Commission, as I have told you, was formed for the purpose of dealing with the boundary waters of that great lake system twelve hundred miles in length, extending from the Pigeon River on the north to where the St. Lawrence ceases to be an international boundary—the greatest inland water system in the world; a system upon which more shipping passes than upon any other system in the world; a system absolutely essential to the development of the great Northwest, both in the United States and Canada, and more particularly necessary to us. The wonderful advances that we have had in our Canadian Northwest would have been impossible if the grain had required to be carried to the sea by rail, as vessels can profitably carry freight for about one-fifth the cost of land transportation. The question of maintaining the level of this great system in its integrity is all-important. There were two pressing questions that lead the United States to suggest the formation of this Commission:

First—The necessity of some arrangement between the two countries with regard to boundary waters which would prevent further injury to navigation interests. Diversions already authorized at Chicago had injuriously affected the lake level.

Second—The necessity of dealing with the diversion of surplus waters along the boundary which could be used for power purposes.

It is estimated that the capitalized value of the water power of this system would be at least $500,000,000, worth at least $25,000,000 a year, at $5 per horse power. Everywhere corporations were seeking to control these great public utilities. At Niagara Falls charters innumerable had been granted and were being applied for. On our side three companies had already commenced operation. Upon the American side two companies had commenced operation, and many other charters had been granted and more applied for. On our side we were equally zealous. One company sought to use the Chippewa River and carry the water to the escarpment at St. Davids. Another influential company sought to take water direct from Lake Erie and throw it over the escarpment at Jordan; 10,000 cubic feet per second was what this company wanted, which meant another five or six inches off the level of Lake Erie. These matters being pressing, the United States Government asked for the formation of this Commission. It was, as you will notice, composed of three Canadians and three Americans.

It was a permanent board to deal with all questions. It was essential, I think, that our representatives should be Canadian. I think it is important and in the interest of real Imperialism that Canada should do her own work as part of the Empire, and I think it is her own work to attend to her own affairs. I think it is most desirable in dealing with our neighbours, in matters relating to our special interest, that we should assume responsibility, and deal with them ourselves and not call upon the Mother

Country to do so, and I think that we can do very much better for ourselves than anybody else can do for us.

I do not think the Americans will ever respect us if we do not attend to our own business. The Government of the Mother Country is and always will be handicapped in attempting to carry on the affairs of this country by reason of her great Imperial interests, and I think we understand the Americans better than the Mother Country representatives would. While self-respect demands in the first place that we should attend to our own business, by doing so we get not only better results, but I think we are also getting the greater respect of the Mother Country.

Now, there were more difficulties than perhaps would suggest themselves to you. You would say it was a very easy matter to get an equitable arrangement. It was not very difficult to get the Commission to agree that we should preserve navigation interests. The whole Lake Carriers' Association, representing $1,000,000,000 invested capital, were absolutely determined that there should be no further interference at Chicago or any place else with the integrity of the Lake levels—that the paramount right of the use of these waters was for the right of navigation—that Providence had placed this great system for the purposes of carrying shipping to the sea and they were just as insistent as we could be in saying to the people of Chicago: "You must stop, you must find some other way of carrying off your sewage other than taking the waters of Lake Michigan."

But the people of Chicago said: "What business have you Canadians with the waters of Lake Michigan, these waters are our waters, they are wholly within our State territory, what business has the Federal Government, much less you Canadians, with these waters?" We held our meeting in Chicago to hear what they had to say, and our answer to their question, "Why should you interfere with these waters?" was: "Lake Michigan cannot be separated from the rest of the Great Lakes System, you cannot divert the waters from Lake Michigan without interfering with the whole levels below—you have no right to take these waters to the injury of public interests in Canada or the United States"; and the Commission unanimously agreed to report that no further permit should be granted to the people of Chicago to take the waters of Lake Michigan for sewage purposes. That report was approved of by the Secretary of War of the United States, and further permission was refused.

* * *

The Commission agreed without much difficulty upon the general principle that navigation interests must be paramount and that no diversion for power, irrigation or sewage purposes should be permitted to the injury of that paramount right, but where it was possible (as in the rapids in the St. Mary River, at Niagara Falls and on the St. Lawrence) to develop power without injury to the interests of navigation, the important question arose as to how the surplus water so available was to be distributed as between the two countries. Was the proportion of water which flowed on each side to govern, and, if so, at what particular point was such proportion to be settled? There was no uniformity of flow. The proportions altered continually, although the water was the same. At the rapids in the St. Mary River at Sault Ste. Marie possibly sixty-five per cent. of the flow is upon the American side, while a mile above the International Bridge the waters are about evenly divided. In the Niagara River at the Falls themselves possibly seven-eighths of the flow is upon the Canadian side, while a mile above the crest of the rapids the larger flow is upon the American side. In the St. Lawrence River at Barnhardt's Island itself possibly ninety per cent. of the flow is upon the American side. The Canadian Commissioners took their stand upon the principle of equal division everywhere.

One of the greatest difficulties of the Commission was to have fixed principles of international law agreed upon. The American Commissioners felt at first that they had not jurisdiction to settle general principles but were only authorized to deal with regard to specific cases referred to them. The Canadian members of the Commission felt that it was absolutely essential in our interests that definite principles should be agreed upon which would apply everywhere and be enforced by a permanent joint Board. International law is largely merely the opinion of text-writers which nations accept when such opinion is favourable and dispute when it does not accord with their interests. There is no principle of international law which permits one country to grant riparian rights in restriction of the rights of citizens of other countries; in other words, no country can, by grants to its own citizens, control the right of the other country within its own territory to deal as it pleases with its own waters.

In the absence of some regulation there was nothing to prevent the United States or Canada in the St. Mary River or in the Niagara or St. Lawrence Rivers, within their own territory, taking all the water they could get as long as they did not interfere with the public right of use for navigation purposes. It would never do, however, to have each country grabbing these waters to the injury of interests in the other, and it was absolutely essential, therefore, that international law should be made governing these conditions as between the United States and Canada, and the Commission finally succeeded in coming to an agreement as to boundary waters—fixing the order of precedence in which the same should be used as follows:

(1) Domestic purposes.
(2) Uses for navigation, including navigation interests.
(3) Power and irrigation purposes.

And they further agreed on the principle that each nation was entitled to an *equal* division of all the surplus boundary waters available for power or irrigation purposes.

At Niagara Falls an exception was made, not because entitled to more than one-half—because I do not think we were—but the interests of navigation did not come into play at Niagara Falls. Nobody but a lunatic would attempt to navigate the river at that point—(laughter)—and, therefore, you could take all the river without interfering with navigation. The Americans were exceedingly anxious to preserve the scenic beauty, and we thought that it would be exceedingly foolish to run foul of that feeling, at least until there was great necessity for our doing so—but as we could use more water at Niagara Falls without interfering with navigation than they could —it was agreed that we should take 36,000 cubic feet per second as against their 20,000. 36,000 cubic feet per second means 440,000 h.p., four times our present demand.

* * *

It would be exceedingly impolitic to consent that during the term of this Treaty—which is made for five years —(and continues until terminated by notice thereafter) there should be any further development, because on our side any further development in the meantime would mean further export to United States. Our Section of the Commission was very strongly of the view that no development for power purposes should hereafter be permitted in this country for export—that we should preserve the privilege of our own people for their own use—as if power is permitted to be exported at all, it will be found exceedingly difficult to get it back again when wanted. We have above Niagara Falls all the power that we will need for years, and there can be further larger development in the river below if necessary. If the time comes that what we now have, together with what is available below the Falls, will not suffice, it may be necessary for both countries to sacrifice Niagara Falls, but that question can be left to be decided when the necessity arises.

I am not going to go on dealing with all the details of the various matters. To attempt to deal with the whole work of the Commission would be impossible at a time like this. All that it had accomplished would have been unavailing without a Treaty giving effect to its recommendations. I had the honour to act with Mr. George Clinton of Buffalo in preparing the first draft of the Treaty. I am not going to attempt, nor would it be wise, or politic to discuss what occurred later at Washington. Negotiations were continued for a considerable time before an agreement could be reached so that the Treaty should give effect to the principles suggested in the reports of the Commission. We knew well that it was vital to our interests that this should be done and that if any attempt was made to deal with specific cases without this protection, it meant endless trouble everywhere along the boundary. Our view was that with principles once established and a permanent Commission appointed to apply them, all difficulties could be worked out satisfactorily and almost automatically, but if it was left open to any Commission to say what ought to be done here, or what ought to be done there, without rules of international law controlling its decisions, endless trouble would ensue and consequent friction of a most irritating character would result between the two countries. The insistent demands of wealthy corporations backed by local influence, would be a source of embarrassment to the authorities in each country, as it would be easy for these interests to inflame the passions of the people to serve their own ends. The Treaty as it finally passed, adopted in substance the principles suggested in the original draft. The first provision is, to my mind, of exceeding importance—under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty there is this provision, and it is the only provision dealing with the boundary from the head of Lake Superior to the St. Lawrence:

> **Article VII.: "It is further agreed that the channels in the River St. Lawrence on both sides of the Long Sault Islands and of Barnhart Island; the channels in the River Detroit on both sides of the island Bois Blanc, and between that Island and both the American and Canadian shores; and all the several channels and passages between the various islands lying near the junction of the River St. Clair with the lake of that name; shall be equally free and open to the ships, vessels and boats of both countries."**

These particular channels were the places where at that time it was essential that this privilege should be given so that the people of each country could have in the waters of the other the right to navigate. But navigation has changed entirely since then, and no provision had been made with regard to new channels since created and now essential to the use of these waters. Since the Treaty of 1842 giving the special rights above referred to the channels in use have been greatly altered by artificial improvements, nearly entirely by the United States Government within their own territory, notably the Hay Lake Channel and the Neebish Channel in the St. Mary River near Sault Ste. Marie, whereby they have opened up a new line of travel eleven miles shorter and four feet deeper than that previously available and one which can be navigated at night with a reasonable degree of safety. The United States are now creating what is known as the New Livingstone Channel in the Detroit River and are proceeding to build a new lock at Sault Ste. Marie. By the preliminary Article of the Treaty "boundary waters" are defined as:

"The waters from main shore to main shore of the lakes and rivers and connecting waterways, or the portions thereof, along which the international boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada passes, including all bays, arms, and inlets thereof, but not including tributary waters which in their natural channels would flow into such lakes, rivers, and waterways, or waters flowing from such lakes, rivers, and waterways, or the waters of rivers flowing across the boundary."

By Article 1. of the Treaty it is agreed:

"That the navigation of all navigable boundary waters shall forever continue free and open for the purposes of commerce to the inhabitants and to the ships, vessels and boats of both countries equally."

It will be noticed that this provision is much broader and removes any doubt as to the right of each country with regard to the use of all boundary waters for the purposes of navigation. There is a further provision that during the term of the Treaty our vessels have the same right of navigation as vessels of the United States in Lake Michigan, that is to say, during the term of the Treaty the Union Jack can pass through the Straits of Mackinaw as freely as the Stars and Stripes. (Applause.) The Treaty adopts the principles suggested by the Commission and provides further that there can be no interference with the level on one side of the boundary by diversions or obstructions on the other without the consent of the International Joint Commission, so that there can be no dam in the St. Lawrence or elsewhere without the consent of the Commission, and without the consent as well of each Government within its own territory. The Treaty deals with streams crossing the international boundary and prevents obstruction in one country to the injury of private or public interests in the other. It also provides against the pollution of boundary waters and of streams crossing the boundary.

* * *

In dealing with diversions in one country of waters which in their natural course, would flow into the other, the Treaty adopts a new principle. While fully protecting public interests of navigation, it allows each country to permit diversions within its own territory, although the effect would be to injure private interests in the other country, but it makes special provision by which such private interests are as fully indemnified as if they were in the country where the diversion took place. It might be a very dangerous thing to say in any other country: "You shall not be able to make use of your waters because some injury may be done to private interests in the other country." Under this Treaty each country treats the citizens of the other just as it treats the citizens of its own, and all are fully protected. The result will, I think, be that you will find that there will not be many such diversions. But the most important provision in all the Treaty, in my opinion, is Article IX.:

> "The high contracting parties further agree that any other questions or matters of difference arising between them involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along the common frontier between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, shall be referred from time to time to the International Joint Commission for examination and report, whenever either the Government of the United States or the Government of the Dominion of Canada shall request that such questions or matters of difference be so referred.
>
> "The International Joint Commission is authorized in each case so referred to examine into and report upon the facts and circumstances of the particular questions and matters referred, together with such conclusions and recommendations as may be appropriate, subject, however, to any restrictions or exceptions which may be imposed with respect thereto by the terms of the reference.
>
> "Such reports of the Commission shall not be regarded as decisions of the questions or matters so submitted, either on the facts or the law, and shall in no way have the character of an arbitral award.
>
> "The Commission shall make a joint report to both Governments in all cases, in which all or a majority of the Commissioners agree, and in case of disagreement the minority may make a joint report to both Governments, or separate reports to their respective Governments.
>
> "In case the Commission is evenly divided upon any question or matter referred to it for report, separate reports shall be made by the Commissioners on each side to their own Government."

The next article, No. X., provides that by consent of both countries the Commission shall act as a court of final judgment in all cases submitted to it by consent of both countries. I doubt if there is existing between any two countries so far-reaching a provision in the cause of peace as Article IX. of this treaty. Twenty years ago I had the honour of attending a Colonial dinner at London, England. Several eminent Canadians there spoke eloquently of their loyalty to the Mother Country, but unnecessarily, as I thought, made unfriendly references to the United States. Lord Knutsford, the then Colonial Secretary, replied, and after speaking of the responsibilities of the great Motherland at home and abroad, and her great colonial system, and of the menaces, then as real as now, thanked the Canadian speakers for what they had said, but added, with great solemnity, that he felt it his duty to say that the very best service a Canadian citizen could render to the Empire was to be rendered by assisting in removing all possibility of conflict between Great Britain and the United States.

All the members of the American Commission are capable, upright men, and have never sought to obtain any advantage over us. I think, moreover, the American statesmen generally are now honestly seeking to establish upon a permanent basis such friendly relations. At the Hague Tribunal the other day the Argentine Minister, one of the five Arbitrators, agreed with the American contention as to the limitation of our bays. Judge Gray, the United States representative on the Commission, instead of joining in a minority report, joined with the majority in settling forever this vexed question against the interests of his own country, deeming it more important, no doubt, to have it finally settled than that dissatisfaction and irritation should result by doubt being cast upon the correctness of the decision.

* * *

Now you have President Taft proposing a treaty with Great Britain by which all manner of questions, even those involving honour and vital interest, shall be referred to arbitration. The statesmen of Great Britain, both sides of politics, have cheerfully intimated their willingness to enter into such an arrangement. If the statesmen of Great Britain, on whom the responsibility of Empire rests, find it politic and desirable to remove all possible chance of conbict, we assuredly can safely follow their lead. I think it is a fortunate thing for us and for the world that the leading statesmen of the United States, big men like the President, Mr. Taft, that very able man, the Honourable Elihu Root, Mr. Knox, the present Secretary of State, the Honourable Theodore Burton, Mr. Bacon, the former Secretary of State, and the late President Mr. Roosevelt, and others, are all working heartily towards the establishment of a Permanent Court at the Hague. It is proposed that all the nations who join in the formation of this Court shall agree to abide by its decrees themselves and to enforce them if necessary as against all the world by their armies and navies. I beg to prophesy to you that within five years such Court will be established, and that Great Britain and the United States will be the first to join in establishing it. Might I prophesy to you that before long Germany also will be forced to join the other nations in the most practical effort that ever has been made to ensure peace on earth.

It is said that this is Canada's century, but I tell you another thing, that it is the common people's century. General education, the press, cheap books, and consequently a well informed public have altered conditions. The peasant of Germany has no quarrel with the agricultural labourer in England, and he as well as the labouring classes generally, have learned that the burden of war in the end must be borne by them. All the trades unions of Great Britain, France and Germany are in favour of peace, and those in Germany are going to say to their Emperor: "We can have no quarrel with England that a permanent Court cannot settle." But even if this Court is not established, and even if Germany is as great a menace as some think, that is all the more reason why we should not have another enemy in a great nation like the United States. With these two nations working in accord there is little to fear.

The Mother Country can and will maintain her supremacy on the sea. Our duty to her is to build up on the right foundation a country which its people shall love. The best and easiest way to make good Imperialists is to make good Canadians first. You can appeal to all classes of people in this country to join in building up a united Canada. If you make good Canadians out of them, they will be good enough Imperialists in the end. If they love their own country, they will never give it up to join another. They will learn to love British institutions because they afford more liberty than is given under any other flag on earth, and because our laws are better and are better administered. I think the almost general consensus of opinion in Canada now is that we have evolved into what was essential—a position of practical independence—while retaining what we all desire to retain—the position of a sister nation within the Empire owing allegiance to a common King.

LIST OF MEMBERS
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EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
1910-1911

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Beatty, S. G.
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Clark, Prof. W.
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Cooper, Jno. A.
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Denison, Shirley.
Denton, His Honour Judge
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Firstbrook, Jno.
Fraser, Reginald.

Gates, F. W.
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Glasgow, R. P.
Goggin, Dr. D. J.
Gormaly, G. H.
Goodman, A. K.
Gourlay, R. S.
Graham, W. B.
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Grant, G. P.
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Green, Miles W.
Grieg, Robt.
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Griffin, Watson.
Gurney, Edw.

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Hall, W. H.
Hall, E. Asa.
Hales, Jas.

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Harris, R. C.
Harper, Wm.
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Hawkins, R. W.
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Haynes, W. G.
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Heaton, E.
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Jarvis, Aemilius.
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Kirkpatrick, G. B.
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Kertland, D. E.

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Murray, T. Aird.
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Osborne, J. Kerr.
Osborne, J. Ewart.

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Sewell, H. Fane.
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Sparrow, F. W. (M.D.)
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Spence, F. S.
Sproatt, Henry.
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Stephenson, Rev. F. C.
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Stevenson, Geo.
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Strathy, J. R.
Strathy, Winder.
Stark, Robt.
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Spencer, Nelson.
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Sullivan, Alan.
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Smith, Leslie.
Sturrett, Melvin J.
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Walker, G. Hawley.
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Wilson, S. Frank.
Wilson, F. Page.
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Wood, W. A. P.
Woodland, C. W. I.
Wreyford, Chas. D.
Wright, E. F.
Ward, Jno. F.
Walker, Philip.
Walker, I. G. G.

Yarker, G. W.
Young, Prof. A. H.
Young, Chas. F.
Young, Henry T. S.
Young, Theo. E.
Young, T. R.
Young, T. S.

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Fetherstonhaugh, F. B.
Mason, Colonel James.
Heywood, James.
Pellatt, Sir Henry M.
Wood, E. R.